

THE  
COMPARISON  
OF  
PLATO and ARISTOTLE.  
With the  
OPINIONS  
of the Fathers on their  
DOCTRINE.

*And some Christian Reflections.*

Together with Judgement on  
ALEXANDER & CÆSAR.

As also on  
SENECA, PLUTARCH,  
AND  
PETRONIUS.

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*Translated from the French.*

*by Joh<sup>n</sup>. Dancer.*

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London, Printed by T. R. and N. T. for Dor-  
man Newman, at the Kings Arms in the  
Poultry, and Jonathan Edwin, at the Three  
Roses in Ludgate Street. 1673.

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LONDON, Printed by T. R. and A. V. for A. W. Martin, at the Kings Arms in the Strand, and J. B. at the Three Pigeons, and J. B. at the Three Pigeons, 1773.

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To his Grace the Duke of  
*ORMOND*, &c.  
CHANCELOUR  
Of the UNIVERSITY of  
*OXFORD*, &c.

**T**hat I owe all I  
have, and all I  
am, to your Gra-  
ces Goodness, is  
a truth I have (whereever I am  
known) so often declared, I can  
pretend to no advantage from

## The Epistle

the World, by making it this way more publick; and to imagine I can at all merit, by Presenting a Thing so little my own to so great a Person, and so much better acquainted with the Habit it first wore then my self, would appear not onely ridiculous, but senseless.

There then remains onely for Excuse of this Presumption, that sublime and elevated power the Great have in themselves, whereby they force up-  
on

## Dedicatory.

on inferiour minds a desire of waiting and attending in all the Capacities they can upon their Glories: And 'tis this ambition has in me over-ruled all the opposing lights of Reason.

To wave then the right I might seem to have of imploring your Grace to Patronize this Work now it is made speak English, (whilst it treats of two of the greatest Philosophers that ever lived, and whilst its Author gives judgement

## The Epistle

ment in favour of that Philosophy which has ever been so well approved by that University, who have so worthily made choice of You for their Protector ) Give me leave onely to throw it at your Feet as a remark of my Duty, and as a Token of my Inclination to offer my Mite of Devotion, where all men pay so due a Reverence.

For though the long Succession of Nobility from whence you are descended, attracts a  
just

## Dedictory.

just respect from all the world ;  
yet the proper Virtues of your  
Person do more command our  
admiration ; and that unex-  
ampled Loyalty accompanied  
with such infinite Judgement  
and Wisdom , wherewith you  
have ever served your King  
and Countrey in the biggest  
Charges, exacts the Service of  
all Hearts.

Nor have either God or your  
Prince been forgetful of such  
bigb Merits ; the first having

## The Epistle

blessed you with a numerous and glorious Issue, and the last raised both Them and You to Stations befitting such sublime Virtues; so that in some particulars you may justly boast what never Subject before you could do.

I could say more (my Lord) upon this Subject, did I not know your Glories are so bright, that all the world knows more then I can say. Pardon then, great Sir, what is said in respect to this small Treatise,  
which



## Dedictory:

*which may prove useful to the  
publick; and be graciously plea-  
sed to believe I think I can never  
say enough to satisfie my Zeal,  
and the ardent desire I have to  
approve my self,*

May it please your Grace,

Your Graces most humble, most  
faithful, and most obedienc  
Servant,

JOHN DANCER.

ADVER.

Delictory.

which may prove useful to the  
public; and degradingly aban-  
doned to believe I think I can never  
be enough to justify my death  
and the ancient desire I have to  
approve my self.

May it please your Grace

Your Grace most humble servant  
faithful and most obedient  
Son

W. D. M. C. E.

ADAM



## ADVERTISEMENT.

**N**EVER were men more eager for Philosophy then now a days, nor ever fewer true Philosophers. They Imagine a chance hit in Chimistry, or the knowledge of some Figures in Geometry sufficient to start up a Philosopher; but they are deceived. Philosophy is something more excellent; and 'tis neither the smoak of an Alembick, nor the windings of a pair of Compasses, can form a Philosopher. The experience of Chymistry

## Advertisement.

Chymistry in its forms may indeed reach a Physical certainty, but can never arrive at demonstration; and the most able Geometrician, sayes

*Ammonius*, cannot become wise, unless he be a Metaphysician. Perfect

Philosophy then not being to be attained; but by the

*Multis artibus opus est ut ad Philosophiam accedi possit. La. lib. 2. c. 25. inst.*

knowledge of other Arts and Sciences, there will be required thereunto a so-

lid Spirit, great study, much labour, and a suitable erudition, together with a profound knowledge of antiquity; I am in this matter of

*Τὸ δὲ βίβαιον καὶ πιστὸν καὶ ὑγιὲς τὸ τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτις οὐκ ἔχει τὴν ἀληθείαν οὐσίαν.*  
Plat. Epist. ad Arist.

*Plato's* mind. I call steadfastness of Soul, constancy, fidelity. and sound sense, true Philopby

## Advertisement.

Philosophy, which indeed is no other thing then to be truly reasonable, and truly virtuous, nor can this secret consist in those subtile refinements of Logick, those new delicacies of Morality, or those ridiculous Whimties in the Physicks, now so much *a la mode*. This new Northern Philosophy now cryed up, appears false to me; for that by its releasing the Spirit, and avoidance of labour, it neglects those preparations necessary to sound reasonings, and deep speculation, confining it self to a dry operation, which has nothing in it solid, because it is not sustained by Reason. 'tis a most Phantastick thing to pretend to reduce the general extents of this Science to experience and distillation, and  
to

*Advertisement.*

to seek so foolishly by the three Principles of Salt, Sulphur and Mercury, that universal Spirit, which is utterly Chimerical, yet will these new Philosophers, and halfe witted people, cry down the ancient Philosophy to establish such a modern fancy prejudicial to good manners, and dangerous to Religion, which should oblige the well affected to be more zealous for the old Philosophy, which St. Thomas has so much praised, of which he has made so much good use in the explaining our Mysteries, and which was never found false but in the false use of it.

*Si enim in dictis Philosophum inveniantur repugnans fidei illud non est Philosophia desumptum, sed ob ejus abusu procedere potest per rationi defectum; nam verum alteri vero nullo pacto repugnare potest.*  
St. Thom. in Coment. ad lib. Trin. q. 2. Art 3.

## Advertisement:

This is the principal cause has made me choose to write of the Philosophy of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, not to inspire in our age a vain spirit of Curiosity ; but to teach those who are truly faithful the use ought to be made of Philosophy, to render it serviceable to our Religion, and to make them well understand that the knowledge of the ancients , and good learning, should be the ordinary Arms for a Christian to defeat error and lyes , for which reason

*Tertullian* heretofore

exhorted the Chri-

stians of his time to be Philosophers

for the better opposing Hereticks

that urged it , and

that the Emperour

*Julian* forbid the

*Philosophari non  
provocant Heretic;  
Tert. lib. de resur.*

*Veritatis testifica-  
tionem timebat. Ar.  
l. 1 contra gentes*

faithful

*Advertisement.*

faithful the study of Learning and  
Philology, because he feared the  
truth; and for the same reason like-  
wise St. Basil composed a Homily  
to engage Christians to read Hea-  
then Books, to advantage them-  
selves by their lights

Basil in Homil.

Cyril. in proleg.

contra Julian The.

lib. 6. c. 17. Hist.

Melchior Can.

loc. x.

after the example  
of Moses and Daniel;  
that St. Cyril against  
Julian, Theodoret in  
his History, and many other fathers  
have done the same.

This is what I chiefly designed  
in this work, which I believed  
might be useful in the Circumstan-  
ces of the age we live in; others  
will perhaps be of my mind, if  
without letting themselves be  
blinded by the calmness and pros-  
perity of our Religion, which ap-  
pears



## Avertisement.

pears so flourishing, they shall reflect how out of an itch of very dangerous curiosity there is raised in *Germany*, and almost through all the North, a new Spirit of Philosophy, leading to direct libertinisme; I do not hereby blame the most laudable industry which many learned men, both in *England* and *France*, practice in the study of Physick, enriching daily with new experience so necessary a Science; but I maintain that true philosophy cannot flourish unless sustained by profound Learning, and perfect knowledge of antiquity, and therein I return to what has been formerly said by *Plutarch* That knowing only the Physicks 'tis in vain to attempt deciding any thing; and knowing  
ing

## Advertisement.

ing only the Physicks, 'tis in vain to attempt deciding any thing, and knowing only Logick begets a punctilious spirit, and a love of dispute. To aim at Philosophy we must begin by Logick, and none can understand Logick as they should, unless they be excellent Metaphysicians. These parts of Philosophy do so mutually aid and assist each other, 'tis impossible to separate them without weakening the whole.

This may possibly be found out by this work; at least it will be clearly seen by what degrees *Plato* and *Aristotle* became such great Philosophers. I have begun with the History of their persons, without cloking any thing, the better to make them known as they were.

I have

### *Advertisement.*

I have explained their Method in the Second Part, to shew how they should be studied; and in the third have expos'd their Doctrine not in the Particles of it, of which neither our Tongue, nor the palate of the age is capable; in which likewise I have endeavour'd to confine my self not to become tedious by too dry a discussion, if it had been too exact. I proceed to explain in the fourth part the opinions of the Fathers on the Doctrine of these two Philosophers, to teach the Judgment upon, and use of them, by that of the Primitive Christians. I conclude the work by some Christian reflections to make it profitable to them shall read it, and to the end none may reproch the purity

## *Advertisement*

city of my intentions, I declare  
that in accusing new opinions, I  
mean none but such as are dis-  
sident to Religion.

in the Articles of it, of which  
neither our Church, nor the State  
of the age is capable; in which  
likewise I have endeavoured to  
compare my self not to become  
rebellious by too dry a discussion,

---

it had been too exact.

ceded to explain in the fourth part  
the opinions of the Fathers on  
the Doctrine of these two things.

The spheres to reach the Judgment  
upon, and use of them, by that of  
the Primitive Christians. I con-

clude the work by some Christian  
reflections to make it profitable  
to those that read it, and to the

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and none may reproach the pro-

my



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T H E



THE  
COMPARISON  
OF  
PLATO with ARISTOTLE.

---

The First Part.

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CHAP. I.

*The Proposition of the design.*

**H**is design of making a Comparison between Plato and Aristotle is so vast and difficult, that many may possibly think me rash to undertake it: For I must be concerned not only to judge between two of the most knowing men of Ancient times; but likewise to decide, whether the several opinions of Authors

B

which

which have spoke of them, be well or ill founded; and if the several palats of each Age have relished their Doctrines well or not. So that to which side soever I lean, I expose my self, to form a judgment contrary to that of many great personages. Nor do I doubt, but to form this judgment just, will require a greater labour then I have proposed to my self. But when I consider that whole multitudes of Commentators and Interpreters, have for this two thousand years been enlarging our Libraries with Volumes on this matter: I am not concerned to believe I can add any thing to what they have writ; and therefore will content my self to expose simply and without partiality, first the merit of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, and whatsoever may regard their persons; Secondly their Method; In the third place their Doctrine; And in the last place the opinions which have been held concerning their works, and the different esteem their Sects have found in each Age.

Some may say, that it is not to apply my self to, or court the humour of the present times, to discourse of ancient Philosophy and Philosophers, when new things are only in vogue, and every man would be a Philosopher after his own way; for never were there seen more Maximes of Morality, more Methods of Logick, and more Systemes of Physick; but there are always some Spirits enough independant from common preventions, not to be disgusted at antiquity, but which know the truth,

### of Plato with Aristotle. 3

truth, under what Colour, and in what Circum-  
stance, soever it appear.

'Tis not one of the least difficulties in a design  
of this importance to know how to disintangle the  
Interests of our Religion, with the Maximes of  
those two Sects which bore the name of these two  
great men; and to examine the good or evil use  
primitive Christians made of the prophane rea-  
sonings of Philosophy, and to preserve at the same  
time the respect due to those fathers of the  
Church, which made use of them to uphold the  
principles of our faith. For to succeed well here-  
in, there will be a necessity of a great dis-  
cernment, and profound knowledge of their  
Doctrine, which shall oblige me not to enter in-  
to this discussion without abundance of Caution,  
and to such a measure only as I believe necessary  
to the clearing of my discourse.

The almost impossibility that there is to write  
any thing pleasant or agreeable upon so dry and  
barren a subject as Philosophy, may be another  
difficulty; for men in this age are delicate even to  
excess. In vain shall an Author strive to make his  
works acceptable by the importance of the things  
of which he treats, unless he affect the Reader  
with something pleasant: Yet I am convinced  
that I neither can, nor ought to seek for the gra-  
ces of Language in a subject so grave, which of  
it self will yield another pleasure, of which per-  
haps you will be no less sensible; for it cannot  
but delight the mind to see how far humane

reason can reach, when 'tis only supported by its own proper Lights. Certainly no person ever carried it so high as *Plato* and *Aristotle*; yet their light appears so dim in several occasions, that the wanderings into which they are fallen for want of the Lights of Faith, is of it self alone sufficient to abate the pride of man, and that at least will be the fruit which may be reaped from my works. I hope likewise that what I shall say of the Doctrine of these two Philosophers will not be unprofitable to those which are not too much prepossessed with the fancy of new opinions: But before I shall go about to speak of the personal merit of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, it will be convenient to examine the beginnings and progress of Philosophy, and in what estate they found it in the world.

CHAP. II.

Of the birth of Philosophy, and its state before Plato and Aristotle.

**T**He Philosophy of which I pretend to speak is not that which at this day makes so much noise in the world with its disputes, wherein oftentimes unnecessary heats are intermixed; that Wisdom which Plato and Aristotle loved above all things, summed all contest, and fixed it self only on truth: The universal Principle on which it formed its precepts, was good sense, which served it for a guide to govern manners and instruct the Spirit. It alone searched for things in their proper Fountains: It taught Reason to submit to certain Rules to strengthen it against doubt, error and opinion, to be constant to its thoughts and calm that natural inquietude which incessantly turmoils the mind: And in fine it employed it self only to render man happy by discovering to him the beginning of things, and making him see how they were; so that of all Sciences this is the most noble, most profitable, and most useful to Mankind.

*Felix qui prout  
rerum cognoscere  
causas. Virgil lib.  
1. Georg.*

Though that the original of this Philosophy were obscure, and that nothing can certainly be said of it, yet all remain of accord, That the *Greeks* were the first Philosophers of the world: Not but that other Nations which preceded them have had a knowledge of some part of Philosophy, and that according to the Nature or situation of their Countrey; necessity, which is the first Mistress of all Sciences has taught them what was proper for their needs. 'Twas thus that the *Egyptians* began to observe the increase and decrease of the *Nile*, and to make every year a Prognostick of the fruitfulness or sterility of their Lands. And to part with the more facility their Harvest, among those particular persons who had cultivated, they learnt the first Principles of Geometry. And as this Nation was much addicted to superstition, their Priests took upon them to abuse their weakness, and composed their Religion of a kind of Theology, intangled with divers Mysteries of which their Figures and Hieroglyphicks gave but a gross intelligence.

*Per figuras animalium Egyptij sensus mentis effinxerunt, ut antiquissima memoriae humana monumenta saxis impressa cernuntur* Cor. Tacit

The *Assyrians* who inhabited vast and unclouded Countreys, having nothing to hinder them from contemplating the stars, were the first that observed their motion, and the *Chaldeans* who were among these people a kind of Philosophers, found from this speculation an art of foretelling

telling things to come. In fine the *Phœnicians*, who were neighbours to the Sea, drew another benefit from the knowledge of the Stars, and addicted themselves to observe those which might be useful to them in Navigation; in which they succeeded so well, that they first found out that there was a fixed point towards the pole, the observation of which might be a guide to Pilots.

*Chaldei cognitione astrorum solertia quæ ingeniorum antecellunt. Cic. de divin. lib. I.*

*Phœnices qui mare pr. pollebant, intulisse Græciæ memorant quæ ab Egyptij accepere. Cor. Tacit.*

*Qua fidunt duce nocturna Phœnices in alto. Arat. apud Tul.*

All these people knew these things only by a simple experience, and had not yet reduced into precepts the knowledges they had acquired. 'Tis said that *Mercurius Tresmegistus*, and *Orpheus* the Philosopher, of which the first was of Egypt, and the second of *Thrace*, were the first that began to establish any rule for the Sciences; but *Orpheus* is full of falsities in the opinion of *Origen*, and the pretended work of *Tresmigistus*, is become suspected to the wise men of the latter ages, as a suppositious thing. That which is likewise said of that King of the *Bactrians*, named *Zoroastres*, and of that *Vulcan* the Son of King *Nilus*, of which *Sotion* speaks in *Laertius*, as if they had been more ancient than *Orpheus* and *Tresmigistus*, appears to me so

*Laer. lib. I. cap. I.*

*Orig. conter. Cels lib. I.*

*Laer. lib. I. cap. I.*

fabulous



fabulous, that I say nothing to it. As for the Jews who were without controversy, the chief of wise men, being the chief of all people, they con-

*Solomon disputavit  
super lignis a Ce-  
dro, quæ est in Liba-  
no usq, ad Hyso-  
pum, & disseruit de  
jumentis, & volucri-  
bus, & reptilibus, &  
piscibus. cap. 4 lib  
3. Reg.*

fined themselves to the study of their Religion, without applying themselves to Philosophy. It is true that Holy writ tells us that Solomon was a great naturalist, and that he had the perfect knowledge of Plants and Animals; but it does not say that he left any thing in writing of that knowledge.

Therefore to speak truth the original of Philosophy ought not to be taken higher then the time of *Thales* and *Pythagoras*, who began to make a publick profession of it. *Thales* was a *Phœnician*, but dwelling in *Miletum* the chief City of *Ionia*, was called the *Milesian*; 'tis believed he learnt from the *Egyptians* the Elements of Geometry and Astronomy. *St. Austin* assures

*Solis accessum, disses-  
sum brumæ solst. usq;  
sic idocuit. Lib. de  
nat. Deor.*

*Thales ex aqua  
dixit constare omnia.  
Cic. in Lucul.*

us that he took from the works of *Homer* the Principles of his Philosophy. He was the first that observed the Solstices, and the Equinoxes, and who discovered to the *Phœnicians* the course of the little bear about the Pole. He taught that water was the principle of all things, and that humidity was the universal cause of Generation; he was called the first



first wise man of the *Grecians*. The others to whom the people gave soon after the name of wise men, left some reflections upon Morality, of which *Laertius* made a small Collection. *Phercydes* who was a *Syrian*, writ first of the universal *Principium* of Nature. *Pythagoras* was his Disciple, and *Thales* enjoy'd his Writings, which *Phercydes* dying sent him.

*Anaximander* who studied under *Thales*, enriched with new observations, those which his Master had already made, he distinguished the four Elements; he placed the Earth in the Center, and by the Scituation he gave them, was the first who erected a kind of Systeme of the World: His knowledge extended likewise to know the bigness of the Sun, and of the Moon, and to measure the just distance between the Earth and those two Luminaries; so that by this distinct knowledge of the Nature of things which he first taught, he merited among the *Greeks*, the Title of the Founder of Philosophy. *Pythagoras* acquired the same glory in *Italy*; but it may be said, that in this first Age which passed between *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and which was truly the age of the Birth of Philosophy, this Science made greater progress in *Italy* than in *Greece*, because the *Pythagoreans* pierced much farther into the Reasons of Natural things, their Method, or rather the quality of their spirits being possibly more proper for it.

*Pytha-*

## The Comparison

*Pythagoras* was of *Samos*, he began his studies under a Grammarian called

*Ex Laer. lib. 8 cjc.*  
*v. Tusc. Apul. 1 Flor.*  
*Gellius lib 1. cap. 9. Por-*  
*phyr. in vit. Pyth.*

*Hermodamas*; this Master inspired into him a very great passion to advance in the Sciences: But because

*Polycrates* the Tyrant of *Samos* that then reigned, persecuted knowing men. *Pythagoras* was constrained to abandon his Countrey, and after having stayed some time in *Lesbos*, where he studied under *Pherecides*, he came to live in *Italy*, in the City of *Crotona* near *Tarentum*; where his sojourning pleased him so well, that after his return from *Egypt*, he settled there for the rest of his life: He had a great wit, a venerable air, and his gravity won him respect; and by reason of a natural austerity in him, it was no hard matter for him to persuade his Disciples to frugality, which he recommended to them above all things. He had gain'd such authority over their spirits, that they thought his advice a rule which they ought to beleive, and when he had decided any thing, there was no more dispute of it. So that his reputation soon passed from *Crotona* to *Tarentum*, and from *Tarentum* to *Lucania*, and *Etruria*, and came to *Rome* it self, about the time that the first *Tarquinius* reigned.

He had learnt from *PHERECIDES* and the Egyptians, that the Soul was Immortal; but as the first knowledge was but confus'd, he had much trouble to conceive how it could subsist, being quite separated from the body after death: So that he chose rather to believe that it passed into the body of other Animals, then to imagine that it could have a Being in an estate quite separated from the matter. This reason joyn'd to some others, made him take part to establish the opinion of the *Metempsychosis*, and to hinder the killing of Animals for food, and the bloudying of Altars with their Sacrifices; he had great converse with the Jews in those Voyages he made into Egypt. *Josephus* assures us, that he had a Nazarene Jew for his Master. *Theodoret* says that he was circumcised; and *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us, that he passed in the opinion of many knowing men of his time for the Prophe *Ezekiel*, but without any ground. It is true, that he had had some communication with the Book of *Genesis*, and had read other books of *Moses*; and it was doubtless from that reading that he took the Idea of those symbolical and figurative expressions of his Philosophy, of which he made use to render it more recommendable. For he was persuaded

*Pherecides primum dixit, Animos hominum esse sempiternos. Cic. 1 Tus.*

*Joseph. cont. Apion. Theod. lib. de fid. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 31. Corn. a lap. in prefat. in Ezech.*

swaded according to the opinion of the *Egyptians*, that it was to profane the truth, to expose it naked to the eyes of the people. Numbers were the ordinary Symbols of which he made use of to teach his opinions; and that mysterious signification which he gave them, made his Doctrine appear more profound then indeed it was. He made Numbers so much concerned in all he thought, and all he said: So that he established for the fundamental Maxime of his Philosophy, That Unity was the principal of the generation of all things; and that Plurality was the corruption. He held likewise, That man was not formed, but by the agreement and consort of certain Numbers; That his Virtue and his Health were but an all-pure Harmony; And that his Diseases might be cured by the conformity of certain Sounds with the access of the Distemper. In fine, he had his spirit so repleat with this imagination of Numbers, and Harmony, that he invented Notes, and a certain measure of Musick from the blows of a hammer struck by an Artizan, by one of his neighbours, on the Anvil; and there is nothing more famous in all ancient Philosophy, then that harmony which *Pythagoras* imagined in the Heavens to govern their Course.

His Disciples were not admitted to speak of these Mysteries, till after five years of continual silence. He taught first the Principles of Physick, which is the true Natural Philosophy. He dis-

discovered the qualities of each Element, the figure of their bodies, the roundness of the Earth, and the *Antipodes*; He distinguished the Seasons, observed the different course the Sun makes daily and yearly; and by what mean the Moon draws her light from the Sun. But this wise man was so confounded with the meditation of these new knowledges, that he left nothing in writing, which yet was no hinderance to his School, which became the most flourishing of the world both before and after his death. The most famous of his Schollars were *Ocellus* of *Lucania*, *Timæus* of *Locris*, *Archytas* of *Tarentum*, *Philolaus* of *Crotona*, *Parmenides* and *Zenon*, both of *Eleates*, and *Mellissus* of *Samos*. These knowing Personages laboured to put in order and writing the Precepts of their Master, of which they composed a Body of Philosophy.

\*Tis true, that *Anaximines*, *Anaxagoras*, *Xenophanes*, *Heraclitus*, *Archelaus*, and *Democritus*, who succeeded *Anaximander* in Greece, applied themselves very diligently to study Nature. *Anaxagoras* taught, that the first Principle of all things was a matter uncreated. *Anaximines* believ'd it to be the Air, because the first Principle ought to be simple and pure. *Heraclitus* maintain'd it was th Fire. And *Democritus* would have it be the Atomes. So the Philosophers of these two Sects which were the first of the world,

world, addicted themselves each to the study of what was most wonderful in Nature; in which, as I have before observed, the Sect of *Pythagoras* made greater progress then that of *Thales* and *Anaximander*; for *Ocellus*, *Archytas*, and *Zenon* form'd Principles of Logick. *Zenon* composed three Books, in which he distinguished the Operations of the Spirit. *Archytas* disposed the Order of the Categories. *Ocellus* invented the method of definitions. *Timaeus*, *Parmenides*, *Philolaus*, and *Melissus*, apply'd themselves to Physics, of which they formed the Principles.

But after all, *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, and their Disciples onely employ'd themselves in the knowledge of Natural things: Their study was bounded in observing the Course of the Stars, the qualities of the Elements, and the Rules of Logick, and Geometry, Musick, and Medicine; and though they had composed a kind of Religion for the honouring of the Gods, they had not yet given any precepts for the Regulation of manners. That glory was reserved for *Socrates*. That part of Philosophy the most important of all was not known before that excellent Philosopher; but it is good to observe by what degrees he arrived to it, and by what means he merited that great reputation, as to have given him by the Oracle the name of *the wisest of men*.

*Socrates* was born in a Village of *Attica*, of Parents little considerable; He had a *Genius* proper to all Sciences, and succeeded wonderfully, but especially to Eloquence: For there was no case so unjust or bad, to which he would not give a fair gloss, and make it seem to be good; which obliged the Governours of the Commonwealth to forbid him to teach Rhetorick. He excelled no less in Poetry; for as it is thought that *Lelius* and *Scipio* had part in the Comedies of *Terence*, so is it believed that *Socrates* had his in the Tragedies of *Enripides*.

The Custom of the philosophers of his time was to travel to learn in divers Countreys what they could not acquire in one alone: But *Socrates* loved Repose and Meditation; and he believed that Travels spent a great deal of time which might be better employed at home. Nevertheless, out of complement to his Master *Archelais*, he went to *Samos* to accompany him, and from thence as far as *Delphos* to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*.

He never propos'd his opinions but as doubts, but he clear'd them by comparisons so familiar, that as he made out (as one may say) the sensible truth, so he left to every one the pleasure of conviction, not seeming himself to think of it.

For

Ex Aristoph.  
Plat. Xenoph.  
Cic. *Alian* Laer.  
Gell. & alii, a quo  
omnis quæ est de  
vita & moribus  
Philosophiæ manavit.  
3 Tuschl.

Ἐδοξε ἀπὸ τῶν  
ἐμπειρῶν. Laer. l. 2.  
de Socrat.



For these reasons he could never endure the Doctrine of *Heraclitus*; he said that *Philosopher* decided too much, and that his manner of teaching was dry, obscure, and unpleasant. *Socrates* had a method quite contrary; he never disputed, nor ever denied, or agreed to any thing openly; and in this incertainty he shewed ever more submission and docility, covering his force under an appearance of simplicity, and taking pleasure to conceal his own, to make appear the parts of others. When he saw any one obstinate in his error, he presently took his part, discoursed his reasons, to make him the more readily listen to his own, and suffer himself to be perswaded. Though he were the wisest man of his age, he fear'd nothing more then to pass for

a Wise man. *Plutarch* says, *Plut. in Apolog.* that he made profession of *Socrat.* knowing nothing, and affected sometimes a studied ignorance; so making shew of a desire to be instructed, he insensibly ingaged those that heard him, to let themselves be instructed. But better to speak him, he began ordinarily his Entertainments with flattering Discourses, and by windings of affected questions, still demanding others advice before speaking his own; and when once he had obliged those with whom he discoursed to tell their

*Socrates percontando i uerogandoque elicere solebat eorum opiniones quibuscumq; differbat. Cic. de finib,*

Opinions,



Opinions, he drew thence consequences to his own advantage; he brought them by little and little from one absurdity to another, till they themselves perceived they were astray; and then he let them see the path that they should walk in, following which they might find truth.

His Conversation was always very pleasant; for he had a wonderful art of putting vizards upon things, and divertising people with their own reproof; in which the Irony which was so familiar and natural to him, stood him in excellent stead, especially against the Sophists, whom he loved to render ridiculous; for they were a sort of people, as himself used to say, of a depraved palate in all things. The ignorance he affected with them, was a mark of the scorn he put upon them; for when he treated with reasonable men, he changed his manner of converse; he transform'd himself as it were into their humour, to enter better into their conceptions. This is that in which consisted his greatest ability; so that he always perswaded, because he always pleased.

*Rhetorum omnium  
agitor Socrates.  
Cic. orat.*

To this delicacy of spirit which was particular to him he had joyned the sublimest virtues: A valour extraordinary, a constancy of soul to uphold his advice, when he knew it profitable to the publick; an honesty which nothing could corrupt; a disinterested spirit, which made him

refuse the Presents of the greatest Lords; a frugality, a moderation, a patience, an equality of mind, and above all, an indifference for death, which never had example: For he treated those which condemned him, as if he had been their Judge, and set to determine of their lives and

fortune. The curiosity of natural things which had so much busied the other Philosophers, was not that which most affected him; His chief application was to teach men how to live well; of which he made a particular profession, even to the last moment of his life, as well by his Example as Doctrine. 'Tis true, he had calumnies thrown upon him in

*Socrates in judicio capitis pro se ipso dixit, ut non supplex & reus, ed magister & dominus videretur esse judicium. Cic. 1. de orat.*

*Spiritum contempnit. ne careret gravitate. Val. Max. lib. 6. cap. 4.*

*Athens*; and *Aristophanes* scandalously represented him on the Theatre; but the corruption of the time, and the humour of the people, which could not suffer so clear a merit without censuring, had so much licensed it, that the severest virtue was no ward against ill tongues; at least *Socrates* as pure as his was, could not secure himself. It was under such a Master as this that *Plato* studied Philosophy, and perfected himself in those Precepts of Morality, with which *Socrates* had enriched him; and in this estate of thereabout stood philosophy, when *Plato* began to study, and *Aristotle* was born into the world.

C H A P.

## CHAP. III.

*The Person of PLATO.*

NEVER was person born more happily for Learning than *Plato*: he was of *Athens* the most knowing City that ever was, and was born in a time wherein all the Sciences flourished more then ever they had done; He had an infinite capacity; and was likewise of great quality: For of his Fathers side he might reckon Kings among his Ancestors; and by his Mothers side he came from *Solon*, from whom it was more glorious to descend, then from a long Succession of Kings. 'Tis said, that his Mother conceived him by the force of imagination, looking on the Statue of *Apollo*; which gave the occasion to believe that he was his Son, because he resembled that Statue. *La-*

*Platonem aequiore conceptu profatum dicunt, cum quædam Apollinis figuratio matris miscuisset. Apol. lib. I. de d. & Plat.*

*Laertius Apulius*, and *St. Jerom* against *Jovinian* speak of this opinion, which *Origen* takes for a Fable in his first book against *Celsus*. But the *Greeks*, who love to meddle in all things, content themselves not with that; for if one will believe them, a Swarm of Bees did one day light on the

Cradle of *Plato*, and distill'd their Honey on his Lips: From whence they drew a certain Pre-sage, that he would be one of the most eloquent men of that age; as if it were an ordinary thing among them, that the birth of great persons must be made observable by some miraculous circumstance.

However it were, *Plato* was brought up with great care in all those Exercises usually taught to persons of quality. He learnt Grammer, the Mathematicks, Musick, and Painting. In his youthful years he had a great *Genius*, and passion for Poetry, composing several Odes and Tragedies which were very much esteemed. In the composition of his Odes, and those *Dythyrambicks* he made in the honour of *Bacchus*, he got such a habit of that cadence, that all his Works are full of it. *Elian* says, that he made likewise Heroick Verses; but finding their force not to equal those of *Homer*, he burnt them. In short, he passed to about the twentieth year of his age in these sort of Studies. 'Twas then he began to apply himself with great assiduity to hearken to *Socrates*. That Master then so famous had a particular talent to form great men: *Criton*, *Aristippus*, *Cebes*, *Xenophon*, *Simias*, *Euclide* of *Megara* were then all his Schollars; but having observed in *Plato* greater natural Endowments, and a quicker *Genius*, then in the others, he more particularly affected him, he then counselled him to read *Homer* often: And it was from that

Lesson

Lesson that *Plato* formed himself to conceive and speak things in a lofty, abundant, and agreeable manner: For 'twas then a received Maxime among men of Learning, that a man could not acquire knowledge without reading *Homer*, nor read him without acquiring it.

*Socrates* being accused by the practices of *Anitus* and *Melitus* his Enemies, and made prisoner, *Plato* rais'd a considerable Sum of Silver to compound for his liberty with his Judges and his Accusers; but the Cabal being too strong, and their spirits too much envenomed to accommodate the business; not seeing any other way to save him, he had the boldness to mount on the Tribunal for Orations to justify the innocence and conduct of *Socrates* before the people. The beginning of his discourse had so much moved the Auditors, that the Magistrates fearing some tumult, imposed him silence, to satisfy their passion, who sought *Socrates* his destruction; which they did without much trouble, under such a Government as was that of the Thirty Tyrants, who had then made themselves Masters of the Commonwealth, and were soon after expelled by *Thrasibulus*.

The Philosophers which were then at *Athens*, were so affrighted at the death of *Socrates*, that they almost all departed the City to avoid the injustice and cruelty of those which reigned; *Plato* retired to *Megara*, a City of *Achaia*, to continue the study of Philosophy under *Euclide*,

who was of that City, and one of the principal Schollars of *Socrates*: From *Megara* he went to *Cyrene*, to be instructed by a great Mathematician named *Theodorus*, with whom he perfected himself in the knowledge of that Science.

But as nothing was capable fully to satisfy that passion posselt him to be knowing in all things, he made a Voyage into *Italy*, to have Conference with *Eurytus*, *Philolaus*, and the second *Archytas*, who were then most famous among the followers of *Pythagoras*, whose Doctrine was now become renowned in *Greece*; and having attained the most concealed secrets of the *Pythagorean* Philosophy, he went into *Egypt* to learn the Theology of the Priests and Sacrificers. *Enripides* who accompanied him in this Voyage, fell sick in *Egypt*, which obliged *Plato* to sojourn there a long time; and gave him leasure to learn all the Religion of the *Egyptians*, with their Mysteries. He had likewise some Communication with the Books of *Moses*, by means of the *Jews*, whose number was much multiplied in *Egypt* since the Captivity. *Clemens Alexandrinus* assures us, that he studied under a learned man of *Helopolis*, called *Sechnuphes*, who was a *Jew*. And *St Austin* once believed, that *Plato* had some con-

*Arist. de Plat.*  
*apud Euseb.*  
*lib. 1. Strom.*

*Nonnulli putarunt Platonem quando perrexit in Aegyptum*  
*Jeremiam audivisse. Aug. l. 8. de civ. Dei. Aug. l. 8. de*  
*d. A. Christ. Id. l. 8. de civ. Dei.* ference

ference with the Prophet *Jeremy* in his Voyage to *Egypt*; but after having made a more exact computation of time, he found that that Prophet was dead above sixty years before *Plato* went to *Egypt*.

This Philosopher having learned from the *Egyptians* their secret Myſteries, had the curioſity to travel into *Persia* to conſult with the *Magi* about the Religion of their Countrey; his deſign was to go even to the *Indies*, to ſee the *Brachmanes*, and learn their Manners and Cuſtoms; but the Wars of *Aſia* hindred him, and that of *Peloponeſus*, which already divided all *Greece*, obliged his return to *Athens*. He had now no more honourable Profeſſion among the *Athenians*, then the teaching of Philoſophy, which *Plato* embraced ſo ſoon as he arrived, and in a ſhort time drew many followers after him. He ſettled his School at the Academy which was without the City, and that place gave afterwards the Name to his Sect. *Iſocrates* was one of the firſt which put *Plato* in reputation; they had contracted a great friendſhip together. *Laertius* ſpeaks of a Communication theſe two great men had together in a Countrey-houſe concerning Poetry: But this diſcourſe has not reach'd our times.

The Prodiges that happened in *Sicily* about the Conflagration of *Aetna*, did ſo much aſtoniſh all the Philoſophers of *Athens*, that *Plato* left his School to ſatiſſie his curioſity in ſo extraordinary

traordinary a matter; he went therefore into that Island to observe as near as he could the Principle Concave of that prodigious fire, which sometimes broke forth with dreadful violence. *Dyonisius*, surnamed the Tyrant, reigned then in *Syracuse*, who was a very wicked man, *Cicero* gives un-

*Cum sanum Loris,  
expilasset, naviga-  
bat Syracusas, cum-  
que secundissimum  
cursum teneret, vi-  
detis inquit amici  
quam bona ad is  
immortalibus navi-  
gatio deur Sacrile-  
gis. lib. 3. denat.  
Deor.*

nough of him in one word, when having rob'd a Temple out of his own Countrey, and being returned by Sea to *Sicily*, with a prosperous gale, *You see* (said he) *my friends, how much the Gods favour Sacrilege.* *Plato* went to see him. and instead of flattering him, as did his other Conrtiers, he reprov'd him for the disorders of his Court, with

such authority, that the Tyrant was surprized, and not being accustomed to hear displeasing truths, grew angry with *Plato*, and would have put him to death; but *Dion* and *Aristomenes* then favourites of that Prince, and who had formerly been *Plato*'s Schollers, interceded with him in favour of the Philosopher, and saved his life. *Dyonisius* was content to put him into the hand of an Envoy of the *Lacedemonians*, who had then War with the *Athenians*: And who touching at *Agina*, sold him for a Slave to a Merchant of *Cyrene*, and he as soon as he had bought him, sent him to *Athens*.



Some time after he made a second Voyage into Sicily, in the Reign of young *Dionisius*, who sent *Dion* his Minister and favourite, to intreat him to come to his Court, and teach him the art of governing his people well: *Plato* went with a design to inspire into this Prince conditions less cruel than those of his father, and to bring him to the practice of that form of government, which he had contrived, and of which he has left us the Principle maxims in his Books of the Commonwealth: But the great friendship *Dion* had with this Philosopher, gave some jealousy to the Tyrant. *Dion* was disgraced, and *Plato* remained to *Athens*: *Dion* being afterwards returned into the good grace and favour of his Master, counselled him to recall *Plato*; *Dionisius* received him with all the marks of good will and friendship that a Prince could give; he sent a Galley rigged in an extraordinary manner to meet him, and went himself in a magnificent Chariot, accompanied with all his Court to receive him; but his suspicious humour, and the disorders of his mind, made him fall into his former mistrusts. *Plato* was offended at it, and complained; : *Dionisius* offended at these complaints, resolved his death; but *Archytas* who was very powerful with the Tyrant, being advertised of it by *Dion*, beg'd pardon for the Philosopher, which the Tyrant

Platoni Sapientie  
antistiti, Dionisius  
Tyrannus vittatam  
navemmisit obviam  
ipse quadrigis albis  
egredientem excepit  
Plin. lib. 7. c. 10.

rant granted, and *Plato* had permission to retire.

*Ælian* lib. 3. Hist.  
var.

Dionem, *Plato*  
*non linguæ solum,*  
*verum etiam, animi*  
*et virtutis magister*  
*ad liberandam pa-*  
*triam impulit.* Cic.  
lib. 3. de Orat.

*ÆLIAN* would make us believe that *Plato* taught *Dion* the secret to dispatch the Tyrant, and deliver the people from oppression. *Cicero* is of the same opinion, I know not upon what authority founded; I find very little of appearance in it from the manner of the Composition of *Plato's* mind, which had nothing in it of violence: However it were the people of *Athens* received him at his return with an universal joy, they would have given him part in the Government; but he refused that honour, that he might busie himself with the greater ease and quiet, in the contemplation of natural things, and the study of Philosophy, he divided all his Estate among his Brothers, leaving only to himself a little Countrey house, with a small Garden, that there he might pass away the rest of his days with freedom; and liberty was indeed so dear to him, that he could never resolve for to marry: In short, he ever after lead a life very quiet and very happy, because 'twas innocent and exempt from ambition; being young he had bore Arms in the Forces of the Commonwealth, at *Tenaros*, at *Corinth*, and in the Isle of *Delos*, and the remainder of his days he spend in the study of Philosophy, he was much inclin-

ned

ned to the opinions of *Heraclitus* in points of Physick, to those of *Pythagoras* in Intellectuals, and he followed *Socrates* in the Morals.

He lived quietly, and without contention among the other Philosophers, a thing rare in those days; for envy reigned much amongst them, and every one endeavoured to establish his faction: He likewise sometimes fed *Diogenes* the *Cynique*, who was a Rascall of a Philosopher, rather than a true wise man; he quarreled even at nothing to appear independent, and took pleasure in censoring and railing at all the world, not sparing *Plato*, though he continually treated him civilly. One time having invited him to Supper, with certain *Sicilians*, his friends, he had caused the Parlor where they were to eat to be hung, and adorned very neatly: *Diogenes* who could not suffer this neatness of *Plato's*, began to dirty with his feet the Tapiſtry, and other moveables, adding brutishly. *I trample under my feet the pride of Plato*; to which *Plato* wisely replied. *'Tis true Diogenes, but you trample on it with a greater pride.*

Though *Plato* had a Character of mind proper for higher things, yet he forbore not to affect raillery; but he made use of it like a person of quality, to make converse more easie and delightful, and not to offend any one. His Dialogues are full of those pleasant hits, which make appear the difference between a man, who has only wit, and him, who besides his natural ac-

com-

complishments, has likewise had the benefit of education: For this Reason it was, that *Plato* so often recommended it to his Schollers, and especiall to *Dion* and *Xenocrates*, to sacrifice to the *Graces*, and it might very well be said that he had sacrificed to them himself, while it was impossible to hear him, and not believe him, or see him, and not love him. There are certain fragments of Epigrams in *Apuleius*, and in the Anthology, which have some agreement with the delicacy of his spirit, however *Marcilius Ficinus* sayes, that those Verses are too soft to be *Plato's*, and that they agree not at all with the gravity of that great man; he assures us likewise that *Aristippus* had feigned them to blemish the virtue of *Plato*,

*Nos injuria Di-*  
*cæarchus accu-*  
*sat, qui auctore no-*  
*stro Platone amoris*  
*auctoritatem tri-*  
*buerimus 4. Tusc.*

*Dicæarchus*, *Athenæus*, *Anlugella*, seem all to favour that supposition: but if there be any of those Epigrams, which may with good warrant be attributed to him, it is without doubt that, of which antiquity did so much boast, upon a young man which *Plato* loved, at least *Apuleius*, *Tasso*, and and some other modern Authors have translated them, believing them to be *Plato's*, and its having received so universal an approbation, is in my mind a great ground for the opinion: For his amours with that *Colophonian*, of which *Laertius* and *Athenæus* speak, and of which the Epigram, and the Anthology make mention, there may be something in it, though *St. Austin* would not believe

believe it, but there are weaknesſes, of which Pagan Philoſophy had not the power to cure men.

*Apuleius* tells us, That the Doctrine of *Plato*, gave even to women, who had any curious ſpirits, a deſire to ſtudy it. *Themiftius* aſſures us, That a ſtranger Lady having read ſome Books of his Common-wealth, diſguiſed her ſelf in the habit of a man, and coming to *Athens* ſtudied ſometime in that manner under *Plato*, without being known. *Laertius* and *St. Clemens Alexandrinus* name other women that did the ſame, which gave occaſion to ſeveral ſcandals, from which all the wiſdom, and all the gravity of *Plato* could not ſecure him: It was difficult to keep ſuch things cloſe in ſo corrupt a City as *Athens*, where the general divertiſement was to pry into each others behaviour, and cenſure it. In the mean time we ought not to give too much credit to *Ariſtippus*, or to *Antifthenes*, of whom *Athenaus* ſpeaks, nor to *Athenaus* himſelf, no more then to *Apuleius*, *George of Trebiſond*, and ſome others; In what concerns a judgment to be made of the conduct of *Plato*. Their Teſtimonies ought to be ſuſpected, becauſe of their prepoſſeſſion againſt Philoſophy, which they make ſufficiently appear. *Plutarch*, *Laertius*, *Valerius Maximus* and *Phorinus*, report ſo many examples of his moderation in all things, that the worſt that

*Multi auditorum  
utriuſq; ſexus in e-  
jus Philoſophia ſta-  
ruerunt Apul.*

that can be found in all his conduct, is only some slight suspicions of things contrary to virtue. The discourse which he makes in the *Phædra* against *Lycias*, is one Testimony: In short we may say, that he was so far above envy and scandal, that he did despise all that wicked Tongues could invent against him, nor did he ever talk ill of any one, which was a virtue very rare among the Philosophers of his Age.

'Tis true, there was some coldness between *Xenophon* and him, though they had both been the favourite Scholars of *Socrates*.

Aulug. lib. 14. *Aulugella* reports, That *Xenophon* cap. 3. having read the two first books of the Common-wealth of *Plato*, being touch'd with some emulation for the success they had had in the world, writ that curious piece, *Of the institution of Cyrus*, with design to oppose to that Idea of a Common-wealth, which *Plato* would establish the example of a Monarchy, the

government of which had something in it more great and more perfect. *Plato* answers to this work only two words, which we find in the third book of his his *Laws*: That in truth *Cyrus*

had been a great Captain, but that he was so little capable of giving Rules for the Government of an Empire, that we know not how to manage his private affairs, nor govern his household. *Cicero* in the Epistle which he writes to his Brother, concerning

Πασίας δ' ἐν  
ὁρῶντας ἡγάγει το  
ὁ δὲ γὰρ. Ex Gel.  
loc. Cic. sumpt.  
ex Athen.

cerning his conduct in the government of his Province, says, That the Institution of *Cyrus* is only a fair Picture of what ought to be done in the education of a Prince, and the Image of a perfect government; but in that which concerns the

*Cyrus a Xenophonte non ad Historiae fidem scriptus sed ad effigiem iusti imperij. Ad Quam. Frat. Ep. 1. Hermog. lib. 2. de pr. Orat.*

History of *Cyrus* there is no foundation of truth, and *Hermogenes* in his Characters takes for a fable the adventure of *Abradates* and *Panthea*, which is one of the greatest Ornaments of that work.

It is indeed somewhat strange, that two so great men as *Xenophon* and *Plato*, who had studied under the same master, and treated of the same subjects, and almost in the same manner, should be so reserved in speaking to one another, and tis that which has made me of opinion, That they did not love one another; those wise men which came after them have been of the same judgment. *Aslugella*

*Athen. lib. 11. Aul. 9. lib. 14. cap. 3.*

says, That they even avoided naming one another in their works; however it is most certain, they did speak one of the other; For *Xenophon* speaks of *Plato* in the third Book of his *Memoires*; And *Plato* speaks of *Xenophon* in the third Book of his *Laws*. That small esteem which *Plato* had for *Aristippus* was better grounded; for *Aristippus* had false virtues, and was vain to the

blazing



blazing of his vices: So that *Plato* did with more trouble behold the pride and vanity of this Philosopher, then all the brutishness of *Diogenes*, he would make pleasant scoffes at the different manners of these two men; but the scorn he had for them troubled not his quiet, his virtue was so solid too be shaken with so slight a thing, and that which made it more firm was its being supported by sincere thoughts of Religion; for he every day gave thanks to the Gods that he had had *Socrates* to his Master, and that they had made him a man; which he accounted among the number of those graces he had received from heaven, being perswaded of the *Metempsychosis*.

In fine, being arrived to fourscore and one years of Age, he died of a sweet and peaceable death in the midst of a Banquet he had made for his friends on his birth day. Both the Life and death of this Philosopher were very smooth and quiet; besides the advantage of his birth, he had a great wit, naturally sweet and easie, and an immense capacity, he was honoured in his own Countrey, esteem'd by strangers, and ador'd by his Scholars: The love he had for study was his Sovereign delight, and he enjoyed that pleasure to the last day of his life; but his study had nothing in it of those Melancholly and Sower Meditations, which fully the Soul, and turn man into a Salvage On the contrary he believed, That the best fruit of Knowledge was the pleasing those he would instruct,



struct; and that it was better to know how to live, then to know how to discourse: The sweetness of his Nature begot love to him from all that knew him, and his Knowledge begot an admiration in all posterity. He was so universally esteem'd, that going one day from *Syracuse* to the place where they celebrated the *Olympian Games*, which was the General Assembly of all *Greece*, as soon as he appear'd, they all quitted their Sports and other Spectacles, to run and behold him. He was valued by all great Persons during his Life, and after his death he had Kings and Commonwealths, which erected him Statues and Altars. All these Qualities acquired him the Sirname of *Divine*, and his Memory is become venerable in all ages; Such was the Merit and Glory of *Plato*, let us now speak of *Aristotle*.

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## CHAP. IV.

### *Of the Person of Aristotle.*

**H**E was born at *Stagira*, a small City of *Macedon*, His Father was called *Nicomachus*, and had been Physician to King *Amyntas*, Grandfather to *Alexander*. 'Twas pretended that *Nicomachus* derived his Pedigree

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from *Æsculapius* the Son of *Apollo*. *Aristotle* lost both his Father and his Mother in his Infancy. *Proxenes* a Friend of his Fathers, took care of his Education; he brought him up out of *Athens*, and he brought him up ill; for having begun to study Grammar, and afterwards Poësie, he left those Studies to follow Libertinisme, and for some time abus'd the indulgence of his Tutor: Yet he arrived to a knowledge in Poësie; witness that Poem he composed of those Warriours slain at the Siege of *Troy*, of which *Eustathius* and *Porphyrinus* make mention. Having wasted by his Debauches a good part of that Estate his Father had left him, he Listed himself in the Army of the Commonwealth, in the time that *Lysistratus* was *Prætor*; but not finding that Profession to his liking, he went to *Delphos* to consult the Oracle what course he were best to take; the Oracle commanded him to go to *Athens*, and apply himself to Philosophy.

*Ali. lib. 5. cap. 9. Athen. lib. 8. Euseb lib. 15. de præp. Ev. 23.*

He was now about the Seventeenth Year of his Age; *Olympiodorus* says, that he began to study this Science under *Socrates*. *Ammonius*, and the Cardinal *Bessarcon* are of this opinion; *Laertius* is not: But if we consult *Eusebius*, we shall find, that *Socrates* dyed the Third Year of the Eighty fifth Olympiade; and that *Aristotle* was born in the Ninety ninth, which agrees with the

the account of *Apollodorus*, and *Dionysius Halicarnassus*.

'Tis therefore more probable, that *Aristotle* began to study under *Plato*, in the Seventeenth year of his age, and that he finished not his Studies till about the Thirty seventh year: But because he had spent his Estate, he was constrained for some time to subsist on a little

*Aristic. Messen ex Epist. Epicur.*

*Alian ex lib. 5, c. 9.*

*Athen ex lib 3*

Traffick of some Sweet-powders, and Medicines which he sold at *Athens*. It is true, that he studied with such an extraordinary diligence, that though he found the School of *Plato* fill'd with many excellent Spirits, he by his assiduity did in a short time surpass those who surpassed all others. He was indefatigable in his Labour, and his Master was surprized with the eagerness wherewith he run through all he could find written of Philosophy, and then in any reputation; *Plato* called him the Soul of his School; and when any indisposition or business kept *Aristotle* away, they would say, that Philosophy in truth was not there; and would decide nothing without his advice.

His passion for Learning increased daily: *Laertius* observes, that he eat little, and slept less; and that to resist the drowsiness of sleep, he stretch one hand out of bed, in which he held a Ball of brass, which with the noise it made falling into a basin, still wak'd him. *Ammanus*

Alexander *œnea concha supposita brachio extra cubile protento, p[er] lam tenebat argentam ut cum nervorum vigo em[er]eret por laxasset, infusus tinnitus somnum abrumperet.* Am. Mar. cel. lib. 16. Ammon in ejus vita.

*Marcellinus* tells us, that *Alexander the Great* practised the like. But as it is ordinary for profound spirits to keep retired within themselves, given over to solitary Meditation without breaking forth; So the Reputation of *Aristotle* made little noise in the world, during the Twenty years that he was *Plato's* Schollar: For he had no converse with any person, and abstained from all sort of divertisement, that he might not steal one moment from his Studies. *Plato*, who was doubtful lest excess of labour might prejudice his health, oftentimes exhorted him to a care of it; but his inclination was stronger then the authority of his Master; and his melancholy temper, which inclined him to contemplation, bore him out through all.

From hence it was that he so strongly digested all things, and disposed them in so great order when he had digested them, 'twas for this reason also that *Galen* praises *Aristotle* for the chief of Philosophers, as one that had search'd to the very depth the general Causes of all Beings, and had best descended into their particular Essence. *Clement*

*Strom. lib 1.* *Alexandrinus* assures us, that *Aristotle* had at *Athens* conference with a Jew, to instruct him in the Religion of the *Egyptians*.

*Egyptians.* Eusebius agrees with him, and both the one and the other have believed it, upon the Testimony of a Peripatetician named *Clearchus*: And 'tis very *clear lib. de somno.* likely, that this Philosopher, to supply the defect of a Voyage to *Aegypt*, which was then thought necessary to the attaining of Wisdom, contented himself thus to understand the Mysteries and Religion of the *Egyptians*, to spare so much time as is exposed to loss by Travel.

It was about the Fifteenth year that *Aristotle* had studied under *Plato*, that he began to conceive some Opinions different from those of his Master; having a solid spirit, and which coveted to reduce all his thoughts under certain Rules, and those founded on reason, he contented not himself with those wandring Principles on which *Plato* seem'd to establish his Doctrine. The boldness that *Aristotle* had to maintain his Opinions against *Plato*, even in his own School, was the cause that his Master conceived some displeasure against him, and began to blame him for his vain expence in Habit, as not conformable to the Profession of a Philosopher: For indeed *Aristotle* began to take somewhat too much care of his person; but *Plato* had not seem'd to take notice of it, till *Aristotle* had contradicted him in his opinions. 'Tis true, that the Schollar by examining and piercing into the opinions of his Master, made his Master look on him as a punctillious and contradictory spirit, which gave

occasion to *Helladius* and *Ælian* to say, that *Plato* very much complained of it, and treated his Schollar as one ingrateful, and a Rebel.

*Laertius* gives some reason to believe, that the animosity of *Aristotle* against *Plato*, proceeded so far as to attempt the erecting of a School against his, even during his life. But *Eusebius* and *Ammonius* clear him from this reproch; and *Philoponus* assures us, that *Cambrias* and *Timothens*, who then governed the Commonwealth, and were Kinsmen to *Plato*, would never have suffered it. It cannot be denied, but that *Aristotle* held opinions contrary to those of *Plato*; and in my judgment there is no need to justify him about it; for there is nothing freer then the mind, and acknowledgements to a Master, do not oblige one to espouse all his Opinions. After all, 'tis certain that *Aristotle* did nothing against those due acknowledgements in things Essential, he preserved even to the death of *Plato*, a great respect for him; nay, he carried that respect farther, in shewing afterward the veneration he had for so extraordinary a man; for he writ a discourse in honour of his memory; he erected an Altar to him as to a Divinity, the Inscription of which Altar yet remains in the Anthology.

These acknowledgements of *Aristotle* should be so much the more valued, because he had  
some

some reason to be dissatisfied with *Plato*, who had chosen *Speusippus* to succeed him in his School after his death; a man of far less desert than *Aristotle*. It was this preference possibly that obliged *Aristotle* to leave *Athens*, and retire himself to *Atarnia*, a small City of the Province of *Mysia* towards the *Hellepont*, where his ancient Friend *Hermias* then reigned: This Prince received him so kindly, that he had reason to forget his disgusts; for he gave him his Sister *Pythias* in Marriage. But *Aristotle* was so transported with the love of this Princess, that he sacrificed to her with the same Ceremonies that were used to the Goddess *Ceres*, and composed a Hymn in the honour of *Hermias* his Benefactor, like those made to *Apollo*. And yet *Athenaus*, who seldom pardons *Aristotle* any thing, justifies him about this Hymn. And *Aristocles* the Peripatician affirms, these Sacrifices to *Pythias* to be a pure calumny raised by a *Pythagorean* called *Lycon*.

*Aristoc* apud  
Euseb. l. b. con.  
Plut. in notis.  
Causab. sup. a Di-

og. Laer. in *Aristot*.

*Aristotle* remained three years with *Hermias*; but that Prince being taken by *Memnon*, General of the King of *Persia*'s Armies, this Philosopher retired to *Mitylene*, the chief City of *Lesbos*, where he some time remained. *Philip* King of *Macedon* had now made himself Master of *Thrace*, and almost of all *Greece*; and having

*Neque vero hoc fugit  
sapientissimum Regem  
Philippum, qui Aristot-  
elem Alexandro filio  
doctorem accieret, a quo  
eodem ille & agendi  
praecepta acciperet &  
loquendi. Cic. 3. de  
orat.*

heard of the Reputation of *Aristotle*, he writ to him a very civil Letter, to invite him to take charge of the Education of his Son *Alexander*, then about Fourteen years o'd. *Aristotle* accepted the offer, and in eight years that he was with that Prince, taught him Eloquence, Physick, Morality, and Policy, especially what was most dark in those Sciences; together with a particular Philosophy, as *Plutarch* affirms, which this great man taught to no other person.

*Philip* and *Olympias* his Queen, seeing the progress their Son made by the care of so excellent a Master, caused Statues to be erected to *Aristotle*, amongst those which the people had erected to them. *Philip* caused *Stagira* to be rebuilt, which had been ruined by the preceding Wars, and in favour of his Sons Master, restor'd the Inhabitants to their former liberty.

*Plutarc. in Alex.*

*Alexander* for his part had such an esteem for *Aristotle*, that he publickly said, that he was more obliged to him then to *Philip*; for his Father had onely made him a Prince, but his Master had made him reasonable. Assuredly there needed so great a Master as *Aristotle* to educate *Alexander*. 'Tis a glory for *Socrates* to have had such a Schollar as *Plato*; and a glory for *Plato* to have been Master to *Aristotle*:

But



But it is much more glorious for *Aristotle* to have form'd such a Schollar as *Alexander*, who deserved to be Master of the Universe. And yet *Lucian*, who spares no body, would make us believe, that *Aristotle* gave ill education to *Alexander*, abus'd the goodness of his nature, and was one of the grossest of his flatterers. But *Lucian* is a Railer, who to pursue the Character best pleased his fancy, made small account of turning into burlesque Religion, Philosophy, or Royalty, the three things of the world most worthy of respect and veneration.

*Lucian in Di-  
al. Alex. &  
Diog.*

After all this *Aristotle* lost the favour of *Alexander* by an adventure very strange; *Calisthenes* one of that Princes Courtiers, and near kinsman to *Aristotle*, talk'd somewhat too freely, *Alexander* had often suffered him: but the young man out of too austere

*Chalithenes interit  
hand quanquam aule,  
& assentantium inge-  
nio accommodato Cic.  
l. b. 8. Plut in Alex.*

virtue, having one day too publicly let fall something, blaming the Kings Conduct was very ill treated; and 'tis pretended, that out of revenge he too easily hearkened to the Propositions made by *Hermolaus*, and other Lords of the Court against the life of *Alexander*: The Conspiracy is discovered, *Calisthenes* thrown to the Lyons, and *Aristotle* not exempt from suspicion.

But

But whilst love of glory draws *Alexander* to the Conquest of the whole world, *Aristotle* retires to *Athens*, where he is very well received; for *Philip* had for his sake been very gracious to the *Athenians*. After the death of *Speusippus*, Master of *Plato's* School, *Xenocrates* had succeeded, and *Aristotle* finding the place full, resolved now to set up another School. The design he had to teach in a manner different from that of *Plato*, and to alter his Opinions were the chief motives to put his thought in execution. The Magistrates of *Athens* willing to acknowledge his merit, gave him the *Lycaum* to settle his new School in, which place became famous in a little time by the concourse of his Scholars, it was now that he composed his principal Works.

Notwithstanding *Plutarch* says, that *Plut. in Alex.* he had already writ his Books of Physick, and Morality, the Metaphysics, and Rhetorick: He reports likewise, that *Alexander* reproched him, for having made publick what he had taught him; in which he was not just to rob *Aristotle* of so lawful a glory, and posterity of Works so useful. But *Alexander* pretended to raise himself above all the world, as well in Knowledge as in Power, so much he affected Glory.

The same *Plutarch* says likewise, that *Aristotle* disgusted with the Suspicions of *Alexander*, and the Presents he had sent to *Xenocrates*, conceived so much resentment, that he was a Partner in the

the Conspiracy of Antipater. *Xiphilius* does in some sort authorize this Opinion, when he describes the sottish vanity of *Caracalla*, that extravagant Emperour, who affected to resemble *Alexander* in all things, expelled out of *Alexandria* all the Peripatetick Philosophers, out of an imagination that *Aristotle* had in effect contributed to the death of *Alexander*. But with respect both to *Plutarch* and *Xiphilius*, this Opinion has no foundation, at least it made no impression upon the spirit of that Prince, who even after the death of *Calisthenes*, and in the very height of his Conquests, forbore not to command *Aristotle* to apply himself to the consideration of Animals; he sent him \* eight hundred Talents to furnish the Expence of this Study, and gave him a great number of Huntsmen and Fishermen to labour according to his orders, and bring him from all parts whereon to make his Observations.

\* 480000  
CROWNS.  
Ex supp.  
Bud.

*Alexandro Rege inflammato cupidine animalium naturas noscendi delegataque commendatione Aristoteli summo in omni scientia viro, aliquot hominum millia in totius Asiae, Graeciae, tractu ei parere iussa, &c. Plin. lib. 8. cap. 16. Athen. lib. 9. Aelian. lib. 4. Var. Hist. c. 9.*

That Liberality, and these Cares, were testimonies of the greatness of Soul that was in this Prince, as well as tokens of the little impression that suspicion had upon his spirit, that *Aristotle* was

was concerned in the Conspiracy of *Calisthenes*, which *Quintus Curtius* believes to be feigned.

*Calisthenes iussu in caput Regis confectus innoxius.* Curt. lib. 8.

For the Conspiracy of *Antipater* who poisoned *Alexander*, of which *Plutarch* accuses *Aristotle*, there is yet less appearance; since *Aristotle* lived in peace at *Athens* under the protection of that Prince, and began not to be exposed to the Persecution of his Enemies, till after his death: For that Persecution was raised against him by the Artifices of a Priest of *Ceres* named *Harmodion*, after *Alexander* was dead. This Priest accused *Aristotle* of impiety, and gave a colour to his accusation, from the Hymn this Philosopher had long afore composed in honour of *Hermias*, and the Sacrifices he made to his Sister as to the Goddess *Ceres*. *Aristotle* made choice to write to the Magistrates a very ample Apology, to justify himself from this Crime; not being willing to expose his Person in his defence; and besides, there was no grace in his Speech, for his voice was very low and unpleasant.

After that this Philosopher retired himself to *Calois*, a City of *Eubœa*, fearing the people of *Athens*, who were very nice in matters of Religion: The sole remembrance of the treatment which

*Socrates* had received from this people in a like  
Accusa-

Accusation so affrighted Aristotle, that some have believed he chose rather to poyson himself, then deliver himself up into the hands of his Enemies. Saint Justin, and Saint Gregory Nazianzen say, that he died with discontent, because he could not comprehend the flowing and ebbing of the *Enripus*. Upon which several Moderns have invented that Fable which has since took place, that this Philosopher threw himself into the *Enripus*, saying these words, *Since I cannot comprehend thee, thou shalt swallow me.*

*Just. in admon:  
ad gentes.  
Greg. Nazian.  
cont. Jul.*

*Novus in Greg Theol Jo. n. Vallen Ang. Col. Rhodius  
lib. 9 lcc. antiqu. Pic. Minand.*

Others believe he died a natural death of the Chollick: Censorinus and Ammi-  
anus Marcellinus assures us, that he was very subject to that Distemper, This last Opinion appears to me most likely; for what appearance is there, that a man so well advised as Aristotle could determine to poyson himself, after having secured himself from fear of the Athenians, by so prudent a retreat, and being now no more in their power; or abandon himself to melancholy and despair, because he could not comprehend the ebbing and flowing of a Tide? He that saw his knowledge bounded by so many other things which he was ignorant of, without perplexing him-  
him-

*Censorin. de  
dient.  
Am. lib 16.*

himself. He died in his great Clymaſterick Sixty three; the ſame age at which *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* died at. Thoſe of *Stagira* took away his Body, and erected Altars to him. He left a Daughter by *Pythias*, and a Son by another Wife. His Daughter was married for her ſecond time to a younger Son of *Democrates* King of *Lacedæmon*; and the Son was that *Nicomachus* whom he ſo dearly affected, and to whom he addreſſed his Books of Morality.

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## CHAP. V.

### *Comparison between their Manners and Parts.*

**T**O conclude this firſt Part, which has reſpect only to the Perſons of *Plato* and *Aristotle*: In my opinion we may form this judgment of their diſpoſitions and ſpirits by the abridgement I have made of their Lives. The Manners of *Plato* appear more pure and more innocent than thoſe of *Aristotle*; Birth and good Education contributed poſſibly this advantage to *Plato*, who was brought up like a Perſon of Quality. *Aristotle* was reduced ſometimes to the neceſſity to turn Emperick, to get wherewith to live on;

ſo

so that the evil estate of his affairs engaged him to a life more dependant, and more struggling. *Plato* at his return from Travel lived retired; and *Aristotle* lived a long time at Court, exposed to that tumultuous life there led, and to all the adventures of a Courtier; his natural Inclinations best appeared in the Court of *Hermias*, where he lived without constraint, his passions for *Pythias*, the adorations he paid her, and all those disordered extravagancies of his Love, the manner of his forsaking that Prince in his disgrace, his Jealousies of *Spensippus*, his animosities against *Xenocrates*, the intrigues he underwent in the Court of *Philip*, and that of *Alexander*, who were both the one and the other very curious, and the pretended Suspicions of *Alexander* against his fidelity, sufficiently lay open the very bottom of his heart. *Plato*, who confin'd himself to his Books, and to his School, was much less subjected to the Combates of Fortune, and consequently his life was more easie, his mind more peaceable, his conduct more virtuous, and all his thoughts more honest to his friends; and more religious to the gods.

I must indeed confess, that of all the Virtues of *Plato*, there's none with which I am more affected then his shame-fac'dness and modesty; he never uttered any thing as his own, he that could speak so well; 'twas *Socrates* that spoke all that *Plato* knew, and the Master who caused and begat all the honour of his Scholars knowledge;  
or

or rather the Scholar, who gave the honour to his Master of all that he said, and of all that he knew: Never was there Scholar that paid so much acknowledgment to his Master, as *Plato* did to *Socrates*. *Aristotle* acted in a manner much different; he advanced his Maximes, and gave out his Doctrine upon his own foundations, without ever so much as making mention of *Plato* who had been his Master.

For the Qualities of Mind, they were extraordinary both in the one and the other; they had both a *Genius* advanced, and proper for great things. 'Tis true, the spirit of *Plato* was more bright and polished, but that of *Aristotle* more vaste and profound. *Plato* had the Imagination lively, quick, abundant, fertile in Inventions, Idea's, Expressions, Figures, giving a thousand different turns, and a thousand different colours to things; but after all it was very often but an imagination. *Aristotle* is hard and dry in all that he says, but it is reason that he says, though he say it dryly; his Phrase pure as it is, has I know not what of austere; and his obscurities, whether natural or affected, perplex and weary the most part of his Readers. *Plato* is delicate in all that he thinks, and in all that he says. *Aristotle* is not so at all, though he be more natural; his Style is more simple and united, but rugged and knotty: That of *Plato* is great and lofty, but loose and diffus'd. This always says more then he need; and the other never



never enough, but leaves one always to think more then he says: The one surprizes the spirit, and dazles it with a bright and flourishing Character; the other lightens and instructs by a method just and solid. And as the Reasonings of the one are more direct and simple, the Reasonings of the other are more ingenious and compound. *Plato* creates or stirs up Wit by the fertility of his own; and *Aristotle* instills Reason and Judgment by the impression of that sound sense appears in all he has said. In short, *Plato* designs for the most part onely to speak well; *Aristotle* intends to reason well, to sift out matters, and search their first beginnings, and from those principles draw infallible Consequences; whilst *Plato* giving himself a greater liberty, imbellishes his discourse, and pleases more; but out of a too great desire to Please, permits himself to be often hurried away by his Eloquence: Which perhaps gave *Longinus* occasion to blame the immoderate use which he makes of Metaphors, out of a too great affectation of a sublime kind of speech, wherein he appears excessive; his *Exordiums* of *Timæus*, of *Phædon*, of *Critias*, of *Parmenides*, have all the lofriness and height of this kind, and do a little stray from the paths of Philosophy, and of a man who makes profession to teach. *Aristotle* keeps still within his bounds, and calls all things simply by their names; and so never wandering, nor striving

*Longin. cap. 29.  
de Gen. Sub.*

to flye too high; is less subject to fall into errorr then *Plato*; who causes those to stumble, that too closely follow him: For he seduces by his way of instructing, which is too pleasant.

*Plato suavius ad legendum quam potentius ad persuadendum scribit; contra Aristoteles pius habet roboris quam suavitatis. Carp. in Alcion.*

But though *Plato* has excelled in all parts of

*In omnibus quæ discenda oratori cernuntur*  
*Plato. Fab. l. 1. c.*  
*12.*

Eloquence, though he was a most perfect Oratour, according to *Longinus* Opinion; which *Hermogenes* confirms to us in his *Idea's*,

though the Eloquence of this Philosopher surpassed that of all Oratours, and though *Aristotle* is not at all eloquent, yet he for the most part furnishes the foundation and body of the discourse, whilst the other gives only the colour & the grace: 'Tis in this sense that we are to take the opinion of *Quintillian*, when he says of the *Platonists*, who are the principal Schollars of *Socrates*,

*Oratorem futurum optimi Socratici præparant. Fab. l. 10. c. 1.*

*Plato in Geometria, Musica, Astris, & Numeris se contrivit. Cic. lib. 1. de fin.*

that they very much perfect an Oratour by preparing him after their manner. But to finish this Parallel; *Cicero* pretends that *Plato* too obstinately affected the study of Geometry, Musick, and Astronomy: Indeed he did strive too much to refine that know-

knowledge of Numbers he had learnt from the *Pythagoreans*] wherewith he has created perpetual Mysteries in the most ordinary Reasonings of his Philosophy. *Aristotle* is bounded to Sensible things, on which he lays the common foundation of his Knowledge, without raising himself above the matter, by those subtilties and mysterious Refinements wherewith *Plato* embroiled his spirit. In summe, the difference between these two Philosophers will be easier observed in the Recital of their method, which is the Second Part I have proposed in this Comparison.

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*The End of the First Part.*

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THE  
METHOD  
OF  
PLATO and ARISTOTLE.

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The Second Part.

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CHAP. I.

*The Method of* PLATO.



**P**LATO has not any very certain Method to explain his Doctrine; his *Genius* is so free, and his Style so interwoven, that he seems not to follow any Rule; and yet when he is read diligently, and with attention, there may be observed some tracks of a Method particular

to him, because of the great liberty he takes; and because it is, as one may say, composed of many Methods.

The first and most known of all these Methods, is Dialogue; he took this manner of writing from *Socrates*, and the other Philosophers of his time. *Diogenes Laertius* says, All which was then writ, was in that manner; *Stilpon*, *Euclide*, *Glaucon*, *Simon the Athenian*, and *Xenophon* writ so. *Alexemenes*, of whom *Aristotle* speaks, was the first Author of this way. *Socrates* affected it as the most natural for instruction, and most convenient to clear the difficulties which were met with in the train of matters to be examined; because in a continued Discourse many things escaped those who were to be instructed, which in the intervals of Dialogue there was opportunity of examining. *Plato*, who was formed by *Socrates*, found this way of teaching most conformable to his *Genius*, which was high and lofty, but free; and that it agreed better with an unlimited discourse, where one is not obliged to be fixed to one Design, nor tied up to the same Subject. The spirit of *Plato* could not be constrain'd, nor submit it self to Rules, all is loose and disjoynted, even in matters wherein he was most exact. There is so much variety in his Dialogues, that *Picus Mirandula*

Laert. in Plat.  
Athen. lib. 2.  
Arist. in Post.

De van. Doct. Gent. lib. 1, c. 4.

assure

assures us, that even his own Schollars could not precisely agree on the principal Subject of which he treated. As for Example ; In his Books of Laws he speaks of the Nature of the Soul, of its Generation and Immortality ; He explains its Eternity in the *Phedon*, and in *Timæus* : In the Dialogue of *Menon*, which is a discourse of Virtue, he mixes a great Tract of Geometry ; where he shews that Virtue may be taught by its Principles, as Geometry is. In his first *Alcibiades*, which is a Discourse of the Nature of Man, he makes a digression upon Musick ; and in all the Subjects of which he treats, he follows more his *Genius* than the matter : This may be his principal Character ; not but that upon due reflection one may perceive, that his Windings are not Wandrings : 'Twill be found, looking on them near hand, that all have an agreement with the principal Subject of which he treats ; and there is no appearance of any design, though still there be a concealed one. But it may be concluded, that he might have gone more direct ; and that by these turnings and windings he makes more way than he need to come to his proposed end.

*Diogenes* believes that *Plato* chose this manner of writing, out of a design to examine things better by the Expositions he made, and by his Interrogations and Answers. This is that which makes him say in his *Cratylus*, That a perfect Logician is he that knows well to interro-

gate, and well to answer, which *Plato* knew very well; for he was a great Logician in the opinion of *Aristotle* himself. But there are two difficulties to be cleared concerning *Plato's* Dialogues: First, Whether without mixture they contain the pure Doctrine of *Socrates*, as *Plato* himself seems to pretend: Secondly, If they were in effect true Entertainments, and real Conferences, which this Philosopher held with persons with whom he discoursed.

As for the first, there is great appearance that all which *Plato* says in his Dialogues, came not purely from his Master, but that he has mixt his own Lights with those of *Socrates*; the more to authorize his Doctrine, to give more weight to what himself prefers, and what he had learnt in his Voyages to *Egypt* and *Italy*, which in probability were not quite lost time. *Laertius* is of

Laert. in Plat. this opinion, and says plainly; *Plato has writ many things which Socrates never said.* There are five persons of which *Plato* makes use in his Dialogues to declare and explain his thoughts; *Socrates*, *Timaeus*, *Parmenides*, the Host of *Athens*, and him of *Eleates*, who are two nameless persons: He onely tells *Gorgias*, *Thrasymachus*, *Callicles*, *Protagoras*, *Euthydemes*, and others, that which he does not approve, or would refute; and he takes care to make every one speak according to his Character.



As to the second difficulty, *Athenæus* answers to it in his Eleventh Book, where *Timon* blames *Plato* for having brought into his Dialogues things that never were. In summe, 'tis said, that *Gorgias* having heard that Dialogue recited which bears his Name, declared it to be feigned; and that he had said nothing of what *Plato* made him speak. *Phadon* averr'd the like. *Parmenides* could not have that discourse with *Socrates*, which *Plato* attributes to him, because they lived not in the same time. *Socrates* himself having heard recited the Dialogue of *Lyfis*, says of *Plato* in *Laertius*, This young man makes me grow very large. And *Xenophon* in *Alcagella* assures us, that

*Socrates* understood neither Physick, nor the Mathematicks; and that the discourse he is made to hold on those Sciences, is fictitious; but the Character of Dialogue admits these liberties, as *Cicero* who uses them likewise in imitation

*Xenophon eos mentiri dicit qui dissertationes de celi natura aliisque disciplinis Socrati attribuerunt, quod cum scribit notat in Platonem, in cujus libris Socrates de Physica, Musica, & Geometria diffinit. Aut. 114 c. 4.*

of *Plato*, explains to *Varro*. *Athenæus* forbears not on this Subject to reproch *Plato* of the injustice he has done *Homer* in blaming him for the Fictions he has mixed in his Poems; since *Plato* has taken the same liberty in his Dialogues wherein he treats of Philosophy, which

ought

ought to tie us strictly to the truth, even to a very scruple.

*Puto fore ut cum legeris, mirere id nos locutos, quod nunquam locuti sumus, sed nostri morem Dialogorum. Quæst. Acad. l. 1.*

The second Method of *Plato*, is but as the universal Instrument of the first, that is to say, definition and division, which he took from *Socrates*; for these are the two most ordinary ways he makes use of to establish what he prefers: For in short, we can give no perfect knowledge of things, but by making known their nature, which is done by definition, and the most certain way to arrive at it, is division. *Laertius*, who gives *Plato* induction for a third means, of which he particularly made use to overthrow whatever he would refute, explains it at large in his third Book, as well as the Irony which *Socrates* brought in, in all he said, especially when he had to deal with the Sophists: But I pass over these things to examine what is more particular, and more close in the manner of *Plato*.

And this is what I call his third Method, which consists in explaining Humane things with Divine, Sensibles by Intellectuals, Particulars by Univer-

*Qui a sensibilibus  
tollunt scientiam  
quo in perpetuo essent  
fluxu. Ex interpret.  
ex arab. A. 1. 3.  
de an.*

sals, Images and Copies by Idea's, which are the first Models. *Aristotle* assures us, That *Plato* took this way of explanation from *Cratylus*, who had been Scholar to *Heraclitus*,

*clytus*, and from *Heraclytus* himself, as *Averroes* sayes; And *Marcilins Ficinus* proposes this Method in his Epistles, where he sayes, That *Plato* in the seventh Book of his Common wealth declares, That philosophy was no other thing, then to raise ones self from what was corruptible and perishable to the first Principle, which was immoveable and Eternal: There is some likelihood that *Socrates*, who taught this Method to *Plato*, had learnt it of that *Indian*, of which *Eusebius* speaks, who being at *Athens*, had very particular conferences with *Socrates*:

Euseb. lib. 3. de  
præp. Evang. c. 1.

For this *Indian* having demanded of him what it was to be a Philosopher; He answered him, That to know how to live well was to be a Philosopher. The stranger, sayes *Eusebius*, was not satisfied with this answer; telling him he deceived himself, and that to have a perfect knowledge of natural things, it was necessary to begin with the knowledge of Divine things, which pleased *Socrates* so much, that he often afterward used to say, That one could not better know particular good, then by the universal good, which agrees well enough with that Maxime that the *Greeks* according to *Aristoxenes* opinion took from the *Indians*, that the universal good ought to be most considerable; and this maxime has an agreement with that which *St. Augustin* calls *The way to Wisdom*, which applies it self to the knowledge of things by

Principalis est  
bonum universi Euseb. in præp. Evangel. ibid.

Via sapientiæ,  
Aug. lib. 7. de Trin.

their

their Principles, and in their prime original, by way of Idea's. That Father took this Method from *Plato*, whom he had diligently studied; and when 'tis followed and pierced into, without stopping at the outward rind, as do the most part that read; it will be found that it often explains things only by the agreement they have with their originals, the particulars by the universals, the sensibles which appears by those which appear not; and 'tis particularly for this Method sake, that *St. Augustin* ought to pass for a Platonist, as may be seen in his way of explaining grace. I take this for an example; because he of all the Fathers has best explained it, and is therefore called the Divine of Grace.

Grace is a gift ( says he ) Sovereignly perfect in the quality of the gift: There are three things to be considered in a gift. He that gives, He to whom it is given, and the manner in which it is given; He which gives, to give in Sovereign perfection, ought to give of his own; and must be in a power, capacity and disposition, to give all that he does give: He therefore ought to be Sovereignly good, to give willingly, Sovereignly powerful, to give liberally, and Sovereignly independent, to give without hopes of return, otherwise 'tis a traffick and no gift: He to whom it is given ought to merit nothing of him that gives it: For it would be a justice if he deserved it, and he ought to be in extream necessity; otherwise he may pass by the gift and refuse it. Lastly, for the manner in which it should be given,

given, it ought to be freely ; for what is given by constraint, is not given, but snatcht away ; and the gift ought to prevent the merit, least it seem a recompence ; it ought also to preceed desire, hopes, and requests of him that receives it, because by these ways it may be merited. All these qualities are met together in Grace, and especially in that chief and most important of all Graces, which is the Redemption of mankind they all agree to make it a gift Sovereignly perfect. Such is the tract of Grace in St. *Augustin*, and all that he says in divers places of his works, may be reduced to these Principles. In which he has imitated *Plato*, who was accustomed to explain things by their Idea's, reducing them to the Estate in which they ought to be, and not that in which they are, as he sayes in his Dialogue of the Sophist. 'Tis thus he gives the Idea of health, in his *Eutyphron*, the Idea of Law in his *Minos*, the Idea of a perfect City in his Laws, and that in his Books of the Common-wealth he proposes the Idea of an universal justice in a City before that of one Citizen.

'Tis thus that in those same Books he traces the platform of a perfect Government, which well comprehended, cannot be made practicable, but to men in Idea ; concerning which *Cicero* rallies so pleasantly, when he sayes, *That Cato's Counsels in many deliberations were prejudicial to affairs ; for he judg'd of the Government of the Roman Common-wealth, which was quite corrupt-*  
ed

ed with the same severity, as if he had been to give his opinion of things in Plato's *Common-wealth*.

Cato nocet interdum reip. dicit enim tanquam, in Platoni πολιτεία, non tanquam in Romuli face sententiam Epist. ad Att. lib. 1. Ep. 1.

This Method of Idea's is the most ordinary of those which Plato makes use of, and the most proper Road in his judgment to the true knowledge of things, because it reduces them to their Principle. That which has made the Doctrine of the Idea's so famous, and has so much divided the opinions of wise men, concerning his conception of them, is, whether these Idea's are Eternal substances, and out of the superintendment of God, as *Ammonius* the Scholer of *Proclus* believed, who would have these Idea's, according to the Doctrine of Plato; to be Models quite separated from God, upon which he forms the ground of his work. *Albertus Magnus*, *St. Thomas*, and *Trapezuntius*, are of this opinion. But *Plutarch*, *Alcinus*, *Plotinus*, *Porphyrus*, *Proclus*, *Jamblicus*, *St. Austin*, *Themistius*, *Simplicius*, *Pletho*, and *Marcilius Ficinus* are of another judgment, they all teach with one common consent, That Plato did not believe that these Idea's were forms existent from themselves, and distinct from the knowledge and superintendment of God, as *Ammonius* and some others have imposed upon Plato: For those separated Idea's are so absurd, that there

is no likelihood that such thoughts should come into the mind of a Philosopher so reasonable as *Plato*; therefore in his Doctrine the Idea of the world is no other thing then the image the Creator has form'd.

But if it be so, *Aristotle* is much too blame, to declaim with so much heat against the Idea's of *Plato*, since he himself was of the same opinion; as appears in his Books of the *Metaphysicks*, and in many other places of his works; to which I answer, That *Aristotle* had reason to oppose the conceptions of *Plato* on these Idea's; for though the opinion of that Philosopher has nothing defective in the substance, 'tis defective in the manner; because *Plato* places in God two degrees utterly distinct; the one of first intendment, the other of first Principle of all Beings in quality of Creator. He pretends that this first intendment, where Idea's are formed,

ὁ δὲ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ δεύτερος  
νοεῖν, *Plot. lib.*  
3. *Enn.*

is the original from which the Creator takes his designs, and that that Principle Being, being distinct from the Creator, the Idea's are likewise distinct; and *Aristotle* had reason to oppose this Doctrine, he who acknowledged a simplicity so pure in the Essence of God, could not suffer those Idea's thus distinguished by *Plato*, differencing the intendment of God, from God himself. 'Twas this distinction *Aristotle* oppos'd in opposing the Idea's as forms exteriour to that first Being, not admitting any mixture or composition

in



in his nature. And this is the opinion of *Aristotle* against the opinions of *Plato*, though *Simplicius* believed him not different from *Plato's* mind upon this question, but from the manner of expressing it; but it is not likely, that a Spirit so solid as *Aristotle*, should take delight to combat with words, or break forth into such heats against simple expressions. 'Twas necessary in this occasion, thus far to clear *Plato's* Doctrine of *Idia's*, which begot so famous a difference between him and *Aristotle*. But I return to my subject.

We may find then in *Plato* a fourth Method, yet more dark and hidden then the others, which consists in explaining the truth of things by their Figures; which *Plato* practiced to draw more respect to his Doctrine, by rendering it

Proclus, Iamblicus,  
Porphyrius, in *Plac.*  
*lib de Rep.*

more mysterious under the Vails which covered it. The principle interpreters of *Plato* have added to the opinion their Master had in this point. *Marcilius Ficinus* sayes, That *Plato* in all important matters, of which he treats, has something Allegorical; and he adds that that figure of the Soul which he ex-

*Que scripta Plato  
de animi, & de eius  
circum aliter intelli-  
gi debent, quam v. r.  
ba sonant. Ficin in  
Plat Theol. li 7. c. 4.*

plains by numbers, and of which he speaks in his *Timæus*, is yet a Mystery unknown to his Commentators, and that in his *Epinomis* there is a Riddle not yet resolved. The birth of love in the

Banquet



Banquet. The War of the *Athenians* against the people of the *Atlantick* Sea, which he tells in his *Critias*. The Chariot of the Soul, its Wings, its Horses, and the Coachman he gives it in the *Phadra*. The fable of the Generation of Animals, by *Prometheus*, and *Epimetheus*, in the *Protagoras*, are all pure Allegories, if you will believe *Origen*, *Porphyrius*, and *Proclus*: and as much *Ficinus* observes on the *Parmenides*.

*Socrates* used this way in imitation of *Pythagoras*, which he did chiefly to confound the Arrogance of the Sophists, by concealing under these Figures what he knew best: whilst the Sophists affected with so much pride to set forth even things they did not know: *Plato* likewise learnt this Symbolical Philosophy from the *Egyptians*, who being much addicted to superstition, explained themselves even in matters of Religion by Figures, that way of treating in things Divine seeming to them most respectful. Their Priests, in whose hands were the Mysteries of their Religion, authorized this Method, to sustain their credit, and to draw to themselves veneration by the respect of those holy things, which they concealed from the eyes of the people, for fear of profanation. They believed likewise, as *Jamblicus* observes in one of his works, where he explains their Mysteries, That they were obliged to this course in imitation of Nature, which under  
F the

the exterior Veil of the body, conceals the perfections of the mind,

However it were this manner of explication was so strongly established in *Egypt*, that it is more then probable; That when the *Egyptians* were driven out of their Country by *Cambyfes*; being afterwards dispersed throughout all *India*, they brought in use there likewise this manner of writing, by *Hieroglyphicks*; which is yet there in use in some parts; and even as far as *China* there is some agreement with that writing formerly used among the *Egyptians*: For they explained, as I have said, their thoughts by the Figures of Birds, Animals, and other Sensible things, which they adored as Divinities; for which cause the *Greeks* gave those Figures the name of *Hieroglyphicks*. But I do not pretend that Symbolical way of writing, which was the most ordinary practice of *Plato*, is universally practiced in all he has writ; for he speaks many things very plain, and which may be understood by all the world, though yet there are things which are to be understood by no body, being altogether Allegorical: And *Proclus* the most exact of his Interpreters does avow, That in many places he has writ things not very Intelligible. 'Twas Customary in *Socrates* School to write all things Figuratively, as appears by that famous

*Ἀναξαγόρας. Procl.*

famous Picture of *Cebes*, who was one of the most learned of *Socrates* his Scholars; yet this Picture which has been so much esteemed by all posterity is only a plain representation of humane life, under those diverse Figures of which it is composed. This is the most exact account I can give of the Method of *Plato*, proceed we now to *Aristotle*.

## CHAP. II.

### *Of the Method of Aristotle.*

**T**Is not much to be wondred that *Plato's* Method was so diverse and uncertain; for since his first Maxime was to assure nothing, but to doubt of all things, what needed he have Principles, who had nothing to establish. *Aristotle* was the first of *Plato's* Scholars, with *Xenocrates*, who forsook this manner of doubting to clear things by searching their depths; so that he formed to himself a Method more simple, and withall more certain then that of *Plato*; because he laid down Principles. The first of these Principles is, That there is a Science contrary to

*In Platonis libris  
nihil affirmatur  
quæritur de omnibus  
nihil certe dicitur  
Cic. Acad.  
quæst. lib. 1.*

utrique Platonis  
ubertate pleni cer-  
tam disciplinæ for-  
mulam, composue-  
runt : Illam autem  
Socraticam de om-  
nibus rebus nulla  
affirmatione adhi-  
bita, consuetudinem  
differendi relique-  
runt. Cic. Acad.  
quæst.

with the matter ; that therefore the knowledge it gains by the use and experience of things, is not a true knowledge but an all-pure reminiscence, as *Plotinus* explains it. *Aristotle* was of an opinion quite contrary : He believed that the Soul has not from it self any Principle of knowledge, when it is united to the body, that it only acquires knowledge by the Senses,

\*Εκ παλαιῦ τυτους  
τοῖς νεῦς καὶ ἀπὸ ἡκον-  
τας, l. *Ennead.* 5.

which are as so many estab-  
lished Messengers to give it  
an account of what passes a-  
broad, that from these particular knowledges which come to it by the Ministry of the Senses, it forms of it self, by the operation of its understanding, knowledges universal, certain, and evident, and this is *Science*.

Thus

Thus the first Method of *Aristotle* is utterly opposite to that of *Plato*; for *Plato* pretends, That to come to the knowledge of things, we are to begin at universals, and so descend to particulars: And *Aristotle* teaches by the know-

ledge of things particular and sensible, to mount to the knowledre of generals and immaterials; being perswaded by this Principle which he holds for indubitable, *That nothing can enter into the Soul but by the Sense*: For man being made as he is, cannot judge of things sensible with any certainty, but by sense. The Max-

ims of *Plato* would have things known by Idea's, which are as the first originals; those of *Aristotle* would have things known by the effects, which are the expressions and Copies of those Idea's; the order which *Plato* establishes is that of Nature, which flies it self, proceeding from the cause to effects; that of *Aristotle* is the order of the knowledge of the Soul, which seeks not out the cause, but by the effect. That

which St. *Augustin* calls *The Way of Science*, which he opposes to that of *Sapience*, and of which he speaks in his Books of the Trinity. Such is the first Method of *Aristotle*, which he took from *Architas*, the

Aristoteles ad-  
sensibilia traduxit  
quæ Pythagorici de  
nummis & substan-  
tijs intelligibilibus  
dixere Bessar Card  
in Cœlum l. 2. c. 4

Nihil est in in-  
tellectu quod non  
fuerit prius in  
sensu, ex Aver.  
text. in Arist. l. 1.  
post. anali. 3. 13

August. l. 7.  
de trinit.

Scholar of *Pythagoras*, and which *Arthyas* had learned from *Dexippus*. This *Dexippus* in the order of Categories, of which he laid the first foundation, fetch'd the substance from the head of other Categories, as the most material and most sensible; but because this knowledge of universal things, formed from the knowledge of particulars, has a Principle faulty, and subject to error. *Aristotle* seeks ways to rectifie this Principle, and render it infallible by the means of his universal Organ.

This is the second Method of *Aristotle*, and 'tis in this Organ that he establishes the art of demonstration by that of Syllogisme; for demonstration is his most ordinary method, as *Ammonius* witnesses, and *Aristotle*

Ammon in vita.

Arist

Μέθοδος ἐστὶν ἡ  
ἐκ τῶν ἀντικειμένων  
συμμετρῶν συλλογῆς  
ἡ ἀπὸ πάντων.  
Top. cap. ult.

him himself calls the art of Syllogisme his principal Method, his Logick serves only to establish this Method; all that he says has a relation to it. The Book of Categories treats of things or parts distant, which ought to enter into the composition of the Sylogisme, which are terms in their natural signification. The Book of the interpretation treats of the matter near to Syllogisme; that is to say of terms as far as they are capable of binding to serve for the enunciation or utterance, which is the second operation of the Spirit. The Book Analyticks considers the Sylogisme according to the essential parts

parts, which compose it, that is according to matter and form, and how the matter of Syllogisme may be more necessary or contingent, or Sophistick, is explained according to these differences, in the course of those Books. The book of the Topicks serves to untwist the matter, when it is only probable or contingent. The Book of Sophismes explains that which is false and equivocal; and the Book of posterior Analyticks, exposes that which is certain and necessary. This is the whole frame of *Aristotles Method*, the most perfect and most accomplished of all Methods; for in effect, demonstration made in the Principles, and in that manner which this Philosopher has conceived it, is the only infallible rule to acquire the Sciences, and the sole means the spirit of man has to arrive at that certainty he seeks in his knowledge, and the only way capable to rectifie the reason by the discernement of true and false; and 'tis this has rendred the use of this method so recommendable to all those who have studied the Sciences, and that which has gain'd it the universal approbation of all ages, which have had the knowledge of it. 'Tis this likewise that made this Method so useful to our Religion, being fitted for the confirming its Doctrine much better then all others, which has made St. *Jerome* say. *Quicquid in seculo peruersum est dogmatum quicquid ad terrenam sapientiam pertinet & putatur esse robustum hoc dialecticâ arte subvertitur.* *Com. in Ezck.*

That all the artifice and perversity

of humane reasoning, and all the force and power that profane Science can gain in the world, may be overthrown by Aristotles Method.

But one of the most ordinary courses which Aristotle takes in his Demonstrations, is, as *Averroes* observes, to set down the difficulties that may oppose him before he determines his Proposition; and this admirable Art which he has to establish solidly what he professes, makes him slight that Method of Division, which he judges a way too feeble to arrive at Demonstration: For this reason he call it a *defective and imperfect Syllogisme*; though it was very much used by *Plato*. Not but that Aristotle does often use the *Analysis*, especially in matters where he is obliged to descend into the the tracts of things to examine them to the bottom, and to gain a more distinct knowledge: And the esteem he has for this Method appears, in that often in his other Books he quotes his *Analyticks*.

'Tis by this discussion that he creates matter from what he treats of, pierces into things, and discovers what is most essential; whilst others see onely the husk, and content themselves with the Superficies. It is true, that those *Maximes* Aristotle establishes in Subjects by him examined are so profound, that they appear not true but to those which know how to penetrate them; which makes the greater part of his Definitions seem either too obscure, or scarce just; the spirit yields not to them without some resistance,

not



not being at first sight convinced: But the more they are meditated, the more true they appear, because they are always founded on Nature and Experience; which makes one of his most intelligent Interpreters say,

Alex Aphrod.

*The Doctrine of Aristotle has for its common foundation the general opinion of all people, and good sense.*

Yet it must be granted, that this depth of *Aristotles* spirit, often robs him of the liberty to explain himself with all that clearness, that is necessary for a Philosopher who is to teach others. 'Tis a fault he is ordinarily reproched with. *Themistius* carries it farther, when he says, It is a folly to pretend to find the true sense of *Aristotle* in all he says, which for all that is not true, but in those things only which seem hard to be deliberated. *Simplicius* believes that *Aristotle* made use of this obscurity, to veil his Conceptions, instead of those Fables and Symbols which he approved not in *Plato*; because that a Philosopher who seeks the truth to teach it, should discover it by sensible effects; and because that truth cannot be disguised under the colour and shadow of Fables, without becoming subject to Illusions by the equivocal Explinations that may be given it; and in fine, because truth to shew its purity ought to be evidently manifested. These are the reasons he gives in his *Metaphysics* to condemn that Symbolical Philosophy *Plato* taught. Therefore  
when

Li. 3. Metaph. c. 4.

when *Aristotle* speaks not clearly, it proceeds not always from the qualifications of his mind, which was naturally profound; but out of a pure affectation to be obscure and mysterious, that he may not be understood without explaining; which he declares sufficiently in a Title he gives to one of his Books, which he calls the *Acroamatics*, because it must be attentively listened to, to be understood.

But I find in his manner of explaining himself, one Virtue which I cannot enough admire; for excellent as he is, he is the most modest, and least affirmative of all Philosophers. He scarce ascertains any thing that he prefers; he simply says it appears so to him, and he seems not to say what he thinks, without some hæsitation. When *Aphrodiseus* or *Averroes* speak of his Doctrine, they represent it not but as a thing evident and incontestable, whilst he never speaks of himself but doubting, and with an admirable reservedness, as if he were always perplexed how to decide, which is an effect of a profound knowledge; for weakness is soonest discovered in positiveness. His *it may be's* which he mixes so often with all he says, appear to me so curious, and I find it so proper to the character of a deep and wise man; who far from flying out in vapour, has modesty enough to distrust his own Lights; that I esteem *Aristotles* reservedness and moderation more than his profoundness and knowledge; for this is the Virtue of an exalted Soul:

Soul: Great *Genius's* deliberate and hesitate, whilst slender spirits are nimble in giving their Decisions, because they have not Light enough to doubt. But *Aristotle* does not so; he plainly acknowledges in his Book of Generation, that he should scarce be able to clear those difficulties he had proposed: He tells us ingeniously in his *Meteors*, that the cause he had given of Comets did not satisfy him; and in other matters which he examines, he never gives his resolution but as doubts. This seems to me an ingenuity without example; and which I cannot enough admire. After having thus discoursed the Method of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, it remains we examine their Doctrine to make the comparison; and that is the Third Part.

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*The End of the Second Part.*

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# THE DOCTRINE OF

PLATO and ARISTOTLE.

## The Third Part.



He Doctrine of *Plato* and *Aristotle* is so vaste and profound, that it seems as if God had sent these two Philosophers into the world to be Patterns to the Wise, and to give instructions to the whole

Earth; for in effect both the one or the other were ignorant in very few things, and their thoughts may pass for

*Nihil tantus vir ignorare potest. Macrobi. de Arist.*

*Finis humani intel-*

*lectus Aristoteles. Hieronym, adv. Jovinian lib. x.*

the

the Rules of all Arts, and for the Principles of all Sciences : But because Philosophy is alone capable to make man wise, by the certain knowledge it gives of things; and that it onely applies it self to perfect the mind, whilst other Sciences are employ'd to exercise the Memory, or embellish the Imagination. 'Tis in Philosophy onely I particularly address my self to examine their Doctrine. 'Tis that which rescues the understanding from error by Logick, and the heart from passions by Morality; to dispose a man by this preparation to the knowledge of things Natural by Physick, and things Supernatural by the Metaphysicks. These are the four parts of which Philosophy is composed; and 'tis according to the order of these parts that I intend to examine the Philosophy of *Plato* and *Aristotle*.

## CH A P. I.

### *Of the Logick of Plato.*

**P**LATO writ no Work, which bore the name of Dialect or Logick, as this part was afterwards called; because *Socrates* did

*Facta est ars differendi quam minime probabat Socrates.*  
Cic. Acad. I.

tle esteem it. 'Tis true, *Plotinus* has writ a book of the *Dialectica* of *Plato*, but has given no natural train of Precepts to establish that Art: And *Apuleius* having undertaken to speak of the Philosophy of *Plato*, mentions

*Aleino. cap. 5. de doct. Plat.*

only his Morals, and Physick; what he says of Logick is taken out of the Book of the Interpretation written by *Aristotle*. But yet if we look diligently for the Logick of *Plato*, we shall find he had some, whose end was to deliver the spirit from errour and opinion, to introduce Science; and that Science was no other thing then the reminiscence he teaches in his *Philebus*, in his *Menon*, in his Books of the Commonwealth, and in sundry other places of his Dialogues.

*Plat. lib. 6. c. 7: de rep. in Sophist. & al. is locis.*

So the first employ of *Plato's* Logick is to purifie the spirit, and dispose it to the perfect knowledge of things by their *Idea's*: As for example, it conducts the spirit to the knowledge of Good, by the true *Idea* of Good; to the knowledge of Beauty, by the *Idea* of Beauty: For the sole *Idea's* of things are capable to give that certain knowledge which composes Science; the rather because they are immoveable and eternal, and that all the rest are changeable. The Senses themselves, by which we know what we know, are deceivers; this is the end *Plato* proposes to his *Dialectick*, and the most ordinary

nary means which he uses to arrive at this end, are Division, Definition, Induction, and Supposition.

For Division, of which he treats very largely in his Politicks, it composes the true *Analysis* of kind in its *species*; and it finds by this first means the essential difference of every thing: This is the certain'st way to arrive at Definition, as *Alcinous* observes; and the Definition makes us know the Essence, which made *Plato* say in his *Cratyles*, that the Logician alone is capable of giving names to things, because he onely can know their Nature: By Induction he sets up singular things against universal, and makes appear the contrarieties of Particulars by general Oppositions. In fine, by Supposition, which is his last means, he discovers, as it were, by degrees the Perfections and Imperfections of things. For Example, he makes appear the beauty of the mind by that of the body; and the beauty of doing well by that of the mind.

Alcin. c. 5, 6.  
Plotin. l. 3. &  
5. c. 5.

*Alcinous* explains this Art more at large in his Treatise of the Doctrine of *Plato*. *Plotinus* gives us the means whereby this Philosopher warrants to himself his Sophismes, by the explication and distinction of Propositions, as *Socrates* had taught him; though *Socrates*, according to the opinion of *Aristotle* was more capable to create difficulties by his Questions, then to resolve them by his Answers. This

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is in short all the Art of *Plato's Dialectica*, which one may easily collect from his Dialogues of *Cratyles*, of *Parmenides*, of *Protagoras*, of *Sophistry*, of *Euthydemes*, and of the *Politicks*, it is found in many places without order or connexion

It is not to be doubted, but that *Plato* had knowledge of the three Operations of the Spirit; he has distinguished them in his *Sophist*: he knew without doubt the *Categories*, having seen the Work of that *Archytas*, who was *Pythagoras* his Scholar, and the first which writ of them. But whatever *Alcinous* says, he never knew the form of a *Syllogisme*, nor the distinction of three Figures of Argumentation: *Aristotle* was the Author of them, as all wise men agree. Let us proceed to his Logick.

## CHAP. I.

### *The Logick of Aristotle.*

THE Logick of *Aristotle* is without doubt more distinct and more methodical than that of *Plato*; and though *Aristotle* made use of the Logick of *Zenon* of *Elea*, who had writ three Books long before him, though he

had great helps from the *Dialectica* of *Euclide*, who was of *Megara*, and Scholar to *Socrates*; yet it is certain, that he better knew the matter of this Art, search'd farther into the depth of it, more cleared all its parts, and ranked them in better order than any of the Philosophers

Περὶ δὲ τῆς συλλογιστικῆς παντελὸς ἔστιν ἔχοντες πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Elench. c. ult.

In *Dialecticis* nihil penitus ut ipsa testatur, Aristoteles ab antiquis scriptum aut deest. Trapez. in comparat. Plat. & Arist. lib. 1.

that writ before. It may be said, that *Archytas*, *Zenon*, *Euclide*, and *Plato* invented the matter of *Dialectick*, but that *Aristotle* alone gave it a form; and he may to his honour say, that he alone perfected the *Syllogisme* which the others knew not: 'Twas he

in effect that invented the Art of perfect Demonstration, by shutting up the almost infinite capacity of the Soul of man within the bounds of three Operations, as within fixed limits, beyond which that Spirit (as free and independent as it is) cannot pass: 'Twas he likewise who found the Secret to rectifie these Operations, and compose the determinate matter for *Syllogisme*.

'Twas he, in fine, who reduced into three Figures which he invented, all the imaginable connexions of two terms, which compose the utterance with the common term, to establish the form of Demonstration, and a form always directly concluding by one Rule, which bears the

the character of Infallibility, as certainly as the demonstrations of the most exact Geometry. 'Tis in the fourth Chapter of the first Book of the *Analytics*, that he explains this new Art of the construction of *Syllogisme*; and 'tis by this wonderful Art that this Philosopher found the means to give the thought which is wholly spiritual; the same Rule that is imposed on quantity, which is wholly material, and to establish in the reasonings of a humane Soul, and in its operations, which are essentially free and contingent, an Infallibility parallel to that which is found in Geometrical Demonstrations, which are essentially necessary; a thing appearing to me so worthy of admiration, that I find nothing comparable to this Art in all the most wonderful productions of the Spirit of mankind; for what can be conceived more ingenious than that Invention of three Figures of *Syllogisme*, which form themselves from the divers scituation of two terms, with the common term of which it is composed; and what can be imagined more admirable than the certainty and evidence of the conclusion after the two Premises, when there is nothing vicious, neither in the matter nor the form.

In truth, when I reflect on the universal arrangement of *Aristotle's* Logick, and that wonderful order of all the parts which compose it; when I examine the Cautions of this Philosopher in the general preparation of the matter he de-

signs for argument; that is the establishment of the work in the most firm and solid manner the mind of man can form, and on a foundation the most intricate and most variable that can be imagined, that is thoughts and words; I am startled at the greatness of the *Genius* that could conceive so prodigious a design. What could not he have done, who could give a character of Constancy and Consistency to a thing so weak, feeble, and uncertain? This work imprisons difficulties that appear'd impossible to be surmounted; the ambiguity of words must first be removed to make a clear explication of what was equivocal, and what was not, by fixing the terms in their proper and natural sense. 'Tis necessary to uncloud the confusion of thoughts ordinarily darkening the mind by the multiplicity of *Idea's*, to unloose the folds and ravellings of the operations of the Spirit, to disperse the almost inevitable veilation of divers *Species* of Propositions particular, universal conditional, absolute, complex, incomplex, affirmative, negative, mean, equivalent, and contradictory, to the end to accustom the Spirit to a Representation naked and simple, that it may form objects to judge of things according as they are in themselves. In short, the disguisements and artifices of the understanding must be discovered, which are innumerable, to remedy all the defaults, and all the Illusions of the Argumentation, and to bring to light the Falsities and Impostures of all the Sophisms,

Sophisms, and of all the Paralogismes imaginable.

Nor is this all; for this great man after having fully discovered what was most obscure, and most concealed in his mind; and after having confined to three Operations very simple, the infinity of the thought by the Art which he had invented; he likewise found the way to rectifie these three Operations in all the parts of his Logick; he has corrected the faults of the first in his Book of *Categories*, in which he teaches us to distinguish the *Idea's* of every thing, according to the natural order which the understanding should preserve to conceive them; he has reformed the defaults of the second Operation, which is the utterance, in his Book of the Interpretation, and in the Treatise of *Post predicaments*, and *Ante-predicaments*; where he explains the signification of Terms, and the Connexion, Contingent, or Essential of the one with the other. In fine, he redresses what is defective in the third Operation, in his Books of the *Topicks*, the *Analyticks*, and the *Sophismes*; and in these Books he establishes the Construction of three Syllogismes, the *Sophistick*, which causes error; the *Dialectick*, which begets opinion; and the *Demonstrative*, which is the onely perfect Syllogisme, both for the quality of its matter and form, and which makes the Science. Thus all the whole design in *Aristotle's* Logick is directed to the same end, and all proceeds to

the establishment of Demonstration by Syllogisme, which is the universal principle of all Sciences; for nothing can be assuredly known without this Art; for that we have not onely by Demonstration a perfect certainty that the thing is, but likewise a perfect knowledge of the reason why it is, which is the essential fruit of all Science.

So that all other Logicks of all other Philosophers, whether Ancient or Modern, are good no longer then they relate to that of *Aristotle*; and who ever examines them, shall find them defective in those things wherein they agree not with his Logick, which ought to be the Rule of all other Logicks, being founded on the Art of Demonstration. But is it certain that *Aristotle* is the true Author of this Art? I must confess, that to prepare the matter he was obliged to the Categories of *Archytas*, and *Ocellus*; that he learnt from *Democrates* and *Socrates* the use of Definition to arrive at this Art; that he had from the *Cratyles* of *Plato* the Distinction of Terms in their proper signification; that he took from the Dialogue of *Euthydemes* a part of the Observations he has made in the Book of *Sophismes*; that the first knowledge of the Method of Consequences, and of all that captious Art of *Dilemma's* was derived to him from *Zenon Eleates*: That *Timaeus* of *Locris* gave him the first Idea of a Syllogisme, which was afterwards perfected by *Zeno*, as appears in the Commentary

mentary of *Proclus* on the *Parmenides* of *Plato*: And that in fine he found the first tracks of Demonstration in the Propositions evident of themselves of *Timæus*, and *Theætetes*. But after all 'tis doubtless that *Aristotle* was the first Author of the form of Syllogisme, and the method to rectifie perfectly the matter, by taking away the confusion of thoughts, the equivocation of words, the artifice and disfigurement of Propositions of which they formed the Sophismes. All the principal Interpreters of *Aristotle* are of this opinion; *Aristotle* owns it himself in the end of his books of his *Dialectica*; and *Cicero* declares it openly in the book of his *Topicks*.

*Demonstrandi viam rationemque certissimam quis unquam ante Aristotelem explicavit Tappetunt. lib. 1. de comp. Plat. & Arist. c. 4. Aristoteles dialecticæ artis unversæ inventæ & perfectæ autorem se prædicavit Ram. c. 7. lib. 1. Schol. dialec.*

*Ammon* in *Arist. vita*. *Philop* cap. 22. in *Analyt. Alex.* *Aphrod* simplic. *Averhoes* *Theoa. Logar.*

The difference then between the Logick of *Plato*, and that of *Aristotle* is, that that of *Plato* is dispersed through his works without order, without design, without principles, and almost without method; and that of *Aristotle* is fully reduced to Rules, and established very solidly in all its parts: And *Gassendus* had not possibly found it imperfect by the Supplement of *Porphyrus*, which he believed necessary to serve for

Introduction, if he had reflected, That this Treatise which is at the head of *Aristotle's* Logick, is taken from his *Metaphysics*, from whence *Porphyrus* extracted it; and it's probable this Supplement had been needless, had there been nothing lost of the books of *Aristotle's* Logick, of which *Diogenes Laertius* makes mention. Proceed we to the *Morals*.

### CHAP. III.

#### *The Morals of Plato.*

**T**Is this part of Philosophy that teaches men to live well, as Logick teaches them to think well. *Socrates* was the first Author of

*Socrates mihi videtur (quod constat inter omnes) primus à rebus occultis, & ab ipsa natura involutis, avocavisse Philosophiam ut de virtutibus & vitis quæreretur. Cic. Tusc. lib. 1.*

the *Morals*, though *Æsop* had before his time given some Lessons that were very well received of the people, by reason of his pleasant art of Fables, which are yet in request: But there is nothing established in the *Morals* of *Æsop*, like that

of *Plato*, which is an Art founded on Principles; of which see here the Abridgment collected from divers places of his Dialogue of *Phædon*, where

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he treats of the Soul ; of *Phileebus* , where he treats of Pleasure ; of the *Banquet* , where he describes Love ; of *Phædra* , where he discourses of Good ; of *Menon* , which is an Elogy of Virtue ; of *Laches* , where he treats of Temperance ; of the first *Hippias* , where he speaks of Honesty ; of the second , where he speaks of Lying ; of what he says of man in his first and second *Alcibiades* ; and above all , in his Books of the Commonwealth , where he settles the principal Maxims of Morality , according to the opinion of *Marcellinus Ficinus* . It is in these Books particularly that he establishes the end of humane actions by the first principles of his Morals ; for man cannot act according to the lights of reason without proposing an end to his actions , which ought to be the motive and principle . The end of man ( says he ) in every act on is his good , and the utmost end of all his actions is his sovereign good ; no other good can perfectly satisfy the capacity of his desires , which is infinite . The only Sovereign Good ( says *Plato* ) is the Sovereign Being , because it comprehends all other good , and may be possessed by the understanding , and the Will of man being ( as it is ) sovereignly intelligible , and sovereignly amiable : Virtue is the only way in his opinion that can lead to the possession of this good , by subduing the motions of the appetite , which are its contraries ; It is virtue , says he , that perfects a man by governing his endeavours

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in respect to God by Religion, and in respect to man by society and friendship : He distinguishes the divers species of Friendship ; he counts Love among these species ; he explains the effects of good or corrupt Love ; the Love of the Husband towards the Wife, of the Father towards the Children, of the Citizen towards the Citizen, and the stranger ; and in fine, that general Friendship which composes the chain of humane Society, of which he makes a perfect *Idea* in his Books of the Commonwealth.

He observes likewise in the same place divers marks of that uprightness which is the true practice of civil Morality ; he teaches the young *Alcibiades*, that a true upright man does not enough to be so, but he must not be exalted at any thing. Though he had the glory to make the most excellent Verses, and were Poet sufficient to resemble *Homer* ; yet he vows he would not resemble him in this quality, which would become disgraceful ; so soon as he express a desire of pretending to make himself considerable by so small a matter, he declares in his *Gorgias*, that he should not value to become Master of Greece by his Eloquence, as *Demosthenes* did by his, so long as he found that with that little Empire the Oratour acquired a certain air of Usurpation, which he could not approve ; so delicate was he in his Morals ; and most certain it is, never were any Morals more upright then his, and more proper to form a true honest man.

In the abridgment of his Laws he examines whether man may be sovereignly happy, which is the end of all his Morals; and he concludes, contrary to the opinion of some Philosophers of his time, that in effect he may be, otherwise the most natural and most sincere of all his desires would be false and unprofitable; but he acknowledges likewise that he cannot be perfectly happy in this life, whilst the Body and the Soul, whose interests are different, are united together. He cannot therefore be happy till after death, when all men should be punished, or recompenced according to their conduct here, good or ill: In his Dialogue of *Gorgias* he speaks of a Judge, who shall denounce the destiny of every man according to his merit: He treats very amply in the tenth Book of his *Republick*, of the recompence and punishment of Souls after their death. In his *Phaedon* he teaches that this life is onely a preparation to another more perfect; and that Philosophy learns a man how to dye well, by learning him to be master of his desires. This is in effect the whole course of the Morals which may be collected out of the Works of *Plato*, where it is every where scattered without order or connexion.

## CHAP. IV.

*The Morals of Aristotle.*

**T**He morals of *Aristotle* are more simple to the truth, and seem less glorious than those of *Plato*, but they are more solid, and more followed. See here the Abridgement reduced to Principles. In the ten books which *Aristotle* has writ to his Son *Nicomachus*, he seeks the ultimate end of man, which should be true Felicity. After having concluded that there is one, he declares it is not neither pleasures of the sense, nor riches, nor other goods of the body, nor honours, nor virtue it self, because all these goods have relation to another good; and true *Beatitude* (says he) is a good universally desired by all the world, which we desire for it self, and for which we desire all other goods. This is the definition he gives of it; and as this good cannot be acquired but by virtue, he explains what that virtue is: 'Tis a habitude to do well, which consists in a kind of mean found between the two extremities of vice. He shews what this mean is in relation to Fortitude, to Justice, to Prudence, to Temperance, which are the

the principal virtues of his Morality : As for example, the mean of the virtue of Temperance governs grief and pleasure, and reduces the one and the other to a just temperament, which is virtue. There is too much weakness and softness in the too great love of pleasure, as there is too much in grief ; Temperance moderates these two extremes, and becomes a virtue by tempering the one with the other : That done, he examines the nature of the action which carries a man on to virtue, which is a free operation of the will that determines of the choice it makes of good, which gives him occasion to describe at length what the will is, by the circumstance of action, free or constrained, voluntary or not voluntary ; which is one of the finest Tracts of the Morals of *Aristotle*, because it explains all that has relation to the liberty, and all the œconomy of humane actions. From thence he passes to Fortitude and Temperance ; he proposes the nature, and the effects of these two virtues ; and on the occasion of Temperance he sets down all those virtues that are its dependants, and have riches or honours for their object : He says that the virtue which relates to the use of great riches, is Magnificence ; that which relates to the use of meaner, is Liberality. The virtue which has relation to ordinary honours, is the desire of Glory ; that which relates to extraordinary honours, is Magnanimity : And as Temperance is the rule of all virtues which regard

regard society, he exposes them one after another: The first, which employs it self to take away all obstacles of commerce in a civil life, is sweetnest, easiness, or mansuetude; the other virtues dependants on Temperance, which contribute to the rendring of society secure, and agreeable, are candour, or sincerity to govern the thoughts, affability to be the rule of our words, and civility to govern our actions.

Thus after having established in the first part of his Morals the essence of private virtue, he establishes in the second civil virtue; he begins with Justice, whose nature he explains, and distinguishes its *Species*. He concludes his discourse with explaining the natural right which is common to men and to beasts; and the right of Nations, which is common onely to men, laying upon the one and the other the principal foundations of Justice: From thence he descends to virtues of the Understanding, and then to those of the Will: Among the virtues of the Understanding he accounts Prudence for the most considerable, because that alone begets right reason, without which there can be no virtue, The use of Prudence in a civil life is Policy, as in that of a private life 'tis Oeconomy; and the general object of this virtue is what ought to be done, and what ought not to be done, in the circumstances of affairs that present.

He descends even to the explication of the dispositions to, and the obstacles of virtue, which

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which are imperfect habitudes : He says that softness and impatience are the obstacles of virtue, as patience and moderation are the dispositions to it ; and addes, that grief and pleasure are the ordinary matter of these habitudes which furnishes an ample Subject to *Aristotle's* Morals : For he reduces all to pleasure or grief, which are the ordinary resorts of the motions of the Soul, and the most universal principles of the Passions. He concludes this part which relates to Society, and which *Cicero* has so well explained in his Books *de Officiis*. By an admirable Treatise of Friendship, he explains the nature, the difference, the uses of good and evil Fortune, and its necessity in the most ordinary action of man, which is his conversation ; he observes the conduct should be held in Friendship to improve it, and proposes divers questions concerning it, to which he gives resolutions. In fine, he concludes his Morals with Beatitude, which is the beginning and the end ; and he describes the nature of true Pleasure, to make an *Idea* of Felicity ; and though he acknowledges that virtue is the onely way to acquire it, yet he allows prosperity and riches may contribute much : And after having shewed that Sovereign Beatitude consists in action, he concludes that there is a practical Beatitude, which is that of men ; and one purely contemplative, which is that of the Gods.

In the two Books of the great Morals, he treats of the means to acquire virtue by goods,  
which

which he esteems the instruments of happiness; He distinguishes them into three sorts of goods; those of the Body, those of Fortune, and those of the Mind: He then considers the habitudes of the Soul, the principles of its operations; and passing over again what he had said in his Ten Books, he draws several Characters of Honesty, of Adversity, and of Prosperity.

In fine; In his Seven Books to *Eudemes*, who was his Friend, and had been his Scholar, he proposes three sorts of life; a life of Business, a life of Pleasure, and a life of Repose and Meditation: He prefers the life of Business and Affair before the other two; he describes the virtues necessary to this busied life, and makes an Elogy of Virtue in general, which he calls with *Plato*, *The harmony of the Soul by the government of the passions*; and he speaks something of the Vices contrary to Virtue; which *St. Thomas* has explained more largely in his second book: And to finish his Moral Theology, he treats in his books of the Republick, and in those of Policy concerning Societies, and the Government of Commonalties, of Cities, of Estates, of Republicks, of Laws, of Deliberations, of Authority, of Peace, of War, of Seditions, of Customs and Taxes, of Commerce, of Arts, of the Duties of the Husband, of the Wife, of the Father, of the Children, of Servants, of Citizens, without forgetting any thing relating either to a civil or private life.

Thus



Thus the Morals of *Aristotle* are little different from those of *Plato* in their Principles: For they both prescribe the same end to man, and the same means to arrive to it,

*Idem fons utrique  
eodem rerum expe-  
tendarum fugienda-  
rumq; partitio.*

C. 1. quæst. Acad.

which is Virtue; both the one and the other distinguish the Virtues, and define them in the general, and in the same way. The difference that may be alledged is, That the Morality of *Aristotle* is too humane, and too much confin'd within the bounds of this life; he hardly proposes any felicity to man then that of civil life. The Morals of *Plato* are more noble and elevated; they are a preparation to a life more pure and perfect; and he would make us believe in his first *Alcibiades*, That this life is a resemblance of the life of the gods. In which he infinitely surpasses *Aristotle*, as well as in the universal Idea which he forms of this beatitude, and all its circumstances.

*Plato A. it tele  
divinior in Mora-  
libus. Carp. in Al-  
cin.*

But after all this, whatever *Plato* has said of the beauty of Virtue, and the blackness of Vice, and of the punishment and recompence of good or evil actions, he has spoke it more like a declaimer than a Philosopher; he supposes things without proving them; he would delight the mind without caring to convince it. Whilst *Aristotle* prefers nothing which he does not set

tle before he speaks of his ultimate end, he proves that there is one: He examines in what it consists, and gives not his own opinion, before he has refuted the opinions of others: So that he clears all doubts, and establishes his truths with an order, cleanness, and penetration that fills all his subject, and unravels all his matter. And speaking in general, This Philosopher lets fall from him in these works of morality, such sparks of his light, and expressions of good sense, as may well become Subjects of admiration to the wise, and to all such as have the leisure to make reflexions on them.

As for example, when he distinguishes in the Idea which he gives to a magnanimous person, the true brave from the false, the first never exposes himself, says he, to great dangers, but for great things, as for his glory, for his Countrey, for his Prince, for his friend; nor does he then expose himself but with a great deal of Prudence and Circumspection: On the contrary the false brave exposes himself to all that has an appearance of danger in every slight occasion inconsiderately and without caution; and is rather a Rascall than a true brave man. He says

*Lib. 4. cap. ult.*

elsewhere, That shamefulness which may be a Virtue in a young man, is a fault in an old man; because there can be no reasonable excuse for it, but ignorance, which is a shameful

shameful one in an aged person; and though  
 shame-fac'dness may serve for a Bridle to impu-  
 dence, which is a Vice; yet be it as shame-fac'd  
 as it will, it is it self no Virtue. He  
 teaches in his fourth Book, That cap. 8. lib. 4.  
 Choler or anger which may be a Virtue in a Soul-  
 dier, is a Vice in a Captain; the one acts with  
 his head, and the other with his hand; Anger  
 is an assistant to one, and as hurtful to the other;  
 nor ought this passion be known to him that  
 commands, but as a supplement to his Authority.  
 He adds in the same place, That anger is a passi-  
 on less unjust then incontinence; because anger  
 always follows some appearance of reason; but  
 incontinence is quite ignorant of it; He sayes,  
 That the anger of a wise man is worse then that  
 of a fool, as the fury of a Beast is less dangerous  
 then that of a man; because that of a Beast is  
 without Principle, Method or Design.

He proposes towards the  
 end of the second Book an  
 admirable rule in what man-  
 ner we ought to judge of  
 things, which sometimes become very dangerous;  
 because they are too pleasant. This Rule is ta-  
 ken from the example of the Counsel held by  
*Priam* in the *Iliades* of *Homer*, where it was deli-  
 berated what they should do with *Helen*, when  
 the City of *Troy* was besieged by the *Greeks*.  
 This Counsel praised the beauty of that Princess  
 without being taken with it, and ordered, That

Ἐν παντὰ δὲ  
 μάλιστα φυλακτῆ-  
 ον τὸ ἡδύ *Ethic. 2.*

she should be sent into her Countrey without being touched. 'Tis thus sayes *Aristotle*, we ought to judge of pleasure, without exposing our integrity, or suffering our selves to be corrupted; and 'tis thus we ought to shun without the least resentment, one of the greatest shelves and Rocks of humane life; for it is very difficult for man not to be sensible of pleasure, being made so frail as he is.

He sayes at the beginning of the third Book, That nothing is more ordinarily vexatious in deliberations of Morality, then to discern justly what to do between two honest and profitable things, and whether to follow the one or the other, As for example: If *Hypolitus*, urged by the solicitations and caresses of his Mother in Law, ought to be silent and die, or else declare it; if he declare it, he dishonours the Princess he loves; if he be silent, he dishonours himself, and passes for a criminal with *Theremis* his father. *Aristotle* concludes there is nothing so difficult as to know precisely which part to take in these two so contrary extremities, where neither the one nor the other are contrary to honesty. But nothing can be more honest, nor indeed more conscientious then what he sayes in the same place, That one ought to suffer, and how far one ought to suffer in the doing ones duty. 'Tis there likewise he proposes, whether we may do any unjust thing, to deliver a friend or kinsman out of the hands of a Tyrant, and he governs things

things in such a manner, that we may there find the true distinction, and natural order of duties, reduced to a a just dependance one on the other. The mean which he establishes between simplicity and cunning, in his treatise of prudence, that simplicity fall not into bestiality; *Lib. 6. Ethic.* nor industry into cunning and artifice, is a great Principle to know how to live in the world: He gives by this distinction the just temperament which composes the true goodness of heart and mind. He observes in the same place, That prudence is the rule of mans actions, as the Art is that of the Artificers. He observes in the treatise of friendship, That benefits and services reciprocally received from friends ought to be the consequences and effects of friendship, but not the cause.

But nothing appears to me in all *Aristotles* Morals of a more exquisite judgment, or profounder conception, then the observation he makes in the third Chapter of the seventh Book, where he teaches, that in the deliberations of of humane actions, 'tis the heart which deliberates, and not the spirit; and that the decision made is less taken from the lights of the understanding, then the motions of the will, whence it proceeds, that the sensual man in his reasonings prefers pleasure to honesty; because his heart is less affected with an honest then delightful good: The virtuous concludes the contrary; because 'tis more more conformable to his man-

διὰ τὸ πάθος  
καὶ τὸ πάθος, Ibid.
ners and desires. Thus every one  
judge things according as affe-  
ction prompts them, and the

will guide the understanding. And 'tis from this Principle arise all false reasonings of passion, and Interest, and the Sophismes of self-love are formed, under which all duties are submitted; 'tis likewise upon this Maxime that St. *Augustine* founds all the conduct of sensual and of spiritual love, on which all Christian Morality depends, *Aristotle* does better explain this Mystery in that place of the seventh Book, where he reduces the Principle of all the actions of man to pleasure and grief, which are the universal resorts of the passions. I have extended my self the longer on *Aristotles* Morals; because I look upon it as his Master-piece, and the disposing of these Morals, and reducing them to our manners, according to the natural order of matters, is in my judgment the best design of a book that can be Imagined. Now let us see their Physick,

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## C H A P. V.

*The Physick of* P L A T O.

There is nothing into which the spirit of man hath less penetrated than the knowledge of nature: It seems as if God had delighted to place the world as the most glorious work of his Omnipotency, and at the same time hide from our eyes the secret resorts of this great Machine; Nature makes it self be perceived, but its ways are unknown, we see the effects, and are ignorant of the causes. The disputes of so many Ages, have hardly produced any accord; so that it seems as if the Object of Physick were a thing rather of opinion than knowledge; which is that doubtless which disheartened *Socrates*. *Plato* addicted himself more to it, drawn perhaps by the communication he had with the *Pythagoreans*, who proceeded farther in the knowledge of natural things, than any Philosophers that preceded them.

Though the Physick of *Plato* be scattered in divers places of his Dialogues, of *Critias*, of *Phædra*, of *Parmenides*, and of the great *Hippias*, yet it is most particularly contained in the *Timæus*. That Treatise establishes for the Principle

of all natural beings a matter and a form; he believes this matter to be eternal and uncreated, and he pretends that the form is only a pure participation of the Idea. Though there may be found in his works some footsteps of efficient and small causes; yet he reduces all things to the

cause Ideal and Material, as *Aristotle* reproches *Plato* in his second book of *Generation*: He gives to this matter a quantity, as one of its essential proprieties, and he adds all those qualities purely accidental, as heat, coldness, drouth, moisture, lightness, weight, smell, colour, tast, and those others which cause the differences of mixt bodies.

Besides these qualities he admits divers kinds of motions, the motion of alteration of increase of diminution, and the local motion; because these things follow the one the other, and have a necessary connexion. *St. Justin* in his advertisement to the Gentiles says, That *Plato* has three Principles in his Phyllick, God, the Matter, and the Idea, which has some agreement with the three Principles, which Cardinal *Bessarcon* attributes to him, which are the works that is made, the matter by which it is made, and the Model by which it is made. *Proclus* in his commentary on the *Parmenides* says, That *Plato* would have the union of the form, and the matter to be made by a certain Harmony, which is no other thing  
then



then a mutual proportion of those two parts. These are the principles of the Physick of Plato, which this Philosopher has made more Mysterious, by his great affection to Geometry, which he has forced into all things, without managing his Subjects, or consulting the matter, with which Aristotle, if we may believe *Mazzonius* reproches him.

*Mazzon. in Plat. & Arist. comparat.*

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CHAP.

## CHAP. VI.

## Of the Physick of Aristotle.

**A**S for *Aristotle* he established his Principles of Physick upon the overthrow of those of other Philosophers. *Melissus* the Scholar of *Pythagoras* taught, That the unity of one sole being, and its immobility, were the Principle of natural things. *Permenides* would have it to be Cold and Heat; *Democritus* judged it to be Substance and Vanity; *Anaxagoras* admitted a quantity, and a confusion of similiary Principles; *Aristotle* refutes all these to establish that form and that matter he had taken from the *Pythagoreans*, to which he added privation for the third Principle, for the better comprehending the change that is made in Generation, which is a motion; the matter is the subject, the privation and the form are the two terms, and this motion has for principle the term of departure, which is the privation as well as the form: As for example, one cannot make a Pillar, if the matter of which it is to be made has not a privation from the form, which made *Aristotle* say, That *White could not be made, but of what was not White at first.*

Αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, Phys. lib. 1.

So that his first Book of Physick, in which he lays down his Principles, is nothing in my mind but a pure Systeme, serving only to make us comprehend the order of the Generation of natural beings. The second book which treats of Causes, has something more clear in my judgment, and likewise more real then the first. The distinction he makes of Art and Nature, of fortune and hazard with that admirable definition of nature, appears to me very solid and well conceived. That which he sayes in the third book, and those following, though somewhat confused to truth, and from the ordinary Method is yet well contrived. The definition of motion is obscure at first sight, but appears true and natural, when well considered. The treatise of the infinity in the fourth Chapter of the third book, is not in due place in the opinion of *Gassendus*. That which he sayes of time and place in the fourth book, are great discourses, and which contain all the most solid parts of Physick. He speaks the second time of motions in the following books, and seems again to tread over the same ground, and to reincounter himself.

*Natura est principium motus & quietis.*  
2. Physic.

*Actus entis in potentia, prout in potentia.*  
*Gassend. in execut. Physic.*

Regarding then things in their Principles, the Physick of *Plato* and *Aristotle* are not very different;

rent; for being both drawn from the same spring, that is from the Physick of the *Pythagoreans*, the most rational then known, they must needs

*Ocell. lib. de*  
*univ. c. 2.* resemble each other. *Ocellus* was the the first author of these

two Principles of the body of Physick, to express the change made in the Generation of the natural body by something it receives, and something that is received; but though the Principles of Physick are almost the same in these two Philosophers, for the composition of bodies, for their proprieties and their qualities, yet their manner of treating concerning them is very different: For *Plato* has treated of Physick very superficially, and should we gather out of his works all that he has writ, it would make but a very succinct discourse, and not to be compared with the eight books of *Aristotles* Physick, wherein is contained all that regards the Principles, and proprieties of the body natural in general.

His particular Physick appears to me more neat, and more Methodical by the deduction of all the Species of the body natural, to which it descends, he begins with Heaven, the Stars, the Elements, the Meteors; and in those books of Meteors only explains more things of Physick, then all modern Philosophers together: For he runs on even to the little particularities of every thing, 'tis there that he sets down the manner of composing Metals, Bitumens, Salts, Stones, and all

that is formed within the bosom of the Earth; 'tis there he explains the difference of bodies by their exteriour Figures, hard or soft, rough or smooth, stubborn or flexible, brittle, malleable or siccitive, he speaks of Concoction, Elixation, Colliquefaction, and Putrefaction of the same bodies; he examines likewise the divers opinions have been held concerning the Elements; if the fire burns by the motion of round parts, pointed or pyramidical, according to the opinion of the Philosophers of these times, who make themselves Authors of many things that *Aristotle* taught before them; as the weight of the Air, which he proves by the experience of a Bullet that weighs more when it is heated: And *Aristotle* is not mistaken in his explication of the swiftness of weighty bodies, as *Gallilæus* and *Gassendus* have reproched him, who are themselves deceived. In fine, he has taught the nature and differences of sounds, with a proportion of all the consonancies as distinctly as any of the moderns, who pretend to have found out something new in that point. But when reflexion shall be made, it will appear, that all that has been said by *Gallilæus* and *Des Cartes*, upon the divers vibrations of the Air, have been before observed by *Aristotle*.

I pass over that excellent treatise he has writ of Colours, of Physiognomy, of Musick, of Medicine, and an infinity of others, to speak of his History of Animals, which to me appears so wonderful:

wonderful: 'Tis true, that in this labour he drew great advantage, from the liberalities of *Alexander*: but besides the industry used in this study, besides the experiences made by himself on great quantities of Animals; he had likewise great care to search into all that had been writ of this matter by Philosophers, Physicians, Historians and Poets that preceded him, which may appear by the many quotations he makes of *Homer*, *Hesiod*, *Æschylus* and *Euripedes*; he likewise sometimes cites *Herodotus*, but 'tis to confute him; for he found little certainly in any thing he maintained. He from whom he drew most light in his History of animals, was *Hippocrates*, a great observer of the body of man; but yet he never names him; for which *Laurentius* in his book of Anatomy does with some reason blame him for ingratitude: For what this Philosopher says of the construction of humane bodies, is taken in part from *Hippocrates*, not but that he has many things which were his own observations.

However it is to him we owe the order and the Method set down in so various and intangled a matter as this History of Animals; nor is it a small matter to have reduced all the species to certain kinds, to have comprized them in a natural, just and complete division, which he gives us at the beginning of the History, and to have established general Maximes in the constitutions of

of Animals, which pass for intallible. 'Twas he that first believed that Blood was made at the Heart, which has been rejected as an error; but is in fine found true by experience. The Circulation of the Blood was not unknown to him; for Doctor *Harvey*, the first of the Moderns that has writ of it, quotes a passage of *Aristotle*, to make it appear he was not ignorant of it. I must confess that progress of time has contributed to the perfecting this knowledge, and that experience has added many things to what *Aristotle* writ; but what vastness of Spirit was there necessary for the establishing the Principles, and disposing things into that order, wherein he has ranged them? What wonder to have found by Mechanical demonstration the equilibrions motion in the flight of Birds, in the swimming of Fishes, and in the pace of Animals, which can neither be direct nor straight, without a just counterpoise of all parts of the body? He has reduced to the Mechanical Rules, of which he was the first that writ, and that long time before *Archimedes* himself most admirable things, in the motion of natural bodies, in the equal weights of Liquors, and likewise in things Artificial, as in the guidance of Ships, and other great Machines; he first discovered by these Mechanical experiences, that the motion of every Animal is a mixture of agitation, and repose, which

which succeed one the other in those parts, where the motion is made; which could not be without this alternation. I should never make an end should I enter into this whole Masse: Let us therefore finish this to examine the Metaphysicks of these two Philosophers.

## CH A P. VII.

### *The Metaphysicks of* PLATO.

**B**esides that, *Plato* had learned the Metaphysicks from *Hermogenes* the Scholer of *Parmenides*; he had so lofty and elevated a Spirit, and so strong an inclination to the study of supernatural things, that all his other Philosophy seems to resign and bend to his Metaphysicks; for where he mixes in his Dialogues any considerations of Morality, Physick or Policy, tis but upon occasion, and as they relate to what he says about the knowledge of intellectual things. The principal object of the Metaphysicks is the Being in general, and the proprieties of that Being. Such were *Plato's* thoughts: He acknowledges in his *Parmenides* an Eternal Being, which never was ingendred; and he finds in that Being



ing a goodness, which he calls, *The good by it self*, the first intend-  
ment, and the first life. *Proclus* distinguishes in *Plato* these three Principles, as three different-beings; and *Plotinus* distinguishes them not at all, but assures us they are the same things, which gave the occasion to some of the primitive Christians, followers of *Plato*, to believe this Philosopher had a glimmering knowledge of the Trinity; but this distinction is purely natural, and bears no proportion with that great mystery, by reason of the inequality and dependance *Plato* puts between those three Principles.

He gives two proprieties to this Being, which he believes essential to it, to wit power and act; he joyns likewise the unity and infinity, which have relation to the act and power: And in the Dialogue of the Sophists, he recounts five attributes appertaining to the being, essence, motion, repose, identity, and diversity; which make the universal distinction of all beings. On these Principles he founds three sorts of gods, of which one are only purely intelligible, the next intellectual and intelligible, and the third purely intellectual. It would require a large discourse to examine so profound a speculation

He sets down in his tenth Book of Laws two sorts of intelligences. The one good, and the other evil; it may be thought by the op-

sition he places between these Spirits, and by the manner in which he lays it down, that he had some imperfect knowledge of the first War of the Angels. And we may find in divers places of his Dialogues, such tracts of our mysteries, that it was not without some ground, that the first fathers of the Church believed this Philosopher, to have been conversant with the Books of *Moses*; and that so particular deduction of things of the other life, of which he speaks in his *Gorgias*, in his *Protagoras*, and in his *Politicks*, made one of the Commentators of *Alcinous* say, That *Aristotle* must yield to *Plato* in the *Metaphysics*.

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# C H A P. VIII.

## The Metaphysicks of Aristotle.

IN truth *Aristotle* is more plain and more natural in this part of Philosophy, in which he ever mixes his Physicks; Sense and Reason are his principal guides, and 'tis rarely that he surpasses any thing of natural knowledges; he would not concern himself to meddle with things he could not demonstrate, which made him so circumspect, as Cardinal *Bessarion* observes in speaking of supernatural things.

Bessarion lib.  
2. c. 4. *Contra*  
*Caelum.*

Therefore after having refuted the opinions of ancient Philosophers on the Principles, He examines if there be one; He proves it; because the sequel of effects and their causes, not being possible to be infinite, must needs be bounded by a first mover. This Principle being established, he shews, That there is a Science which employs it self to consider the being, purely in quality of being; he examines the nature, the proprieties, the oppositions, and this Science is the *Metaphysicks*; He finds out three Attributes, absolutely inseparable from the being, unity, goodness and truth, which agree essentially with all beings; He distinguishes

the being into act and power, finite and infinite, necessary and contingent, the same and different: And from these distinctions he makes divers orders of specifical and particular natures, after having given certain notions of universal natures. This is what he explains in his first six Books; He begins in the seventh to raise himself to the knowledge of the first being, he proves that it must be a substance; and after having given an essential definition of substance, he explains the proprieties, the kind, the species, and the difference; He treats in the eighth and ninth books of substances, sensible and material; In the tenth he speaks of the unity; In the eleventh he shews that universal natures, are the first Object of Science; After having distinguished the diverse attributes of the substance; in the twelfth, he speaks of the first mover or first being, he concludes his Metaphysics, by the unity of that first mover, and by that of God; He speaks likewise in the eighth Chapter of this last Book of the divinities of his Religion, as introduced by fables; but 'tis somewhat closely that he discourses it, as not believing the people capable of such truths. In the other two last Books which are scarce believed to be *Aristotles*; because there are strange rehearsals, there is a discourse of nature immaterial, of Idea's, Rhetorick, Law, Politicks,

sticks, and Grammer; for these two great men have spoke of all things, and have given precepts to all conditions of Mankind, even the most mean and most Mechanical arts have not escaped their penetration; but even of those very Arts have *Plato* and *Aristotle* treated, as of Philosophy *Plato* makes appear a great Genius and height of Spirit in all he sayes, but he has no Principle nor Method in what he sayes, in which *Aristotle* is so exact. Never did Authour labour in so many matters, nor so well searched the depth of them; for there are above seven hundred fourty seven Volumes of works by him composed, if we may believe the number given us by *Franciscus Patricius* the *Venetian* Philosopher; but for my part I am content to be of the opinion of *Diogenes Laertius*, who counts us near four hundred; but the Criticisme of the number of the works of *Aristotle* only is too infinite to be discussed; it suffices that we know that more then fifty Authours would have merited immortality by the writings of him alone; so great is their number, and their value so extraordinary: And it seems that nothing can be added in the Sciences, nor any thing be writ, either solid, exact or regular, unless it conform to the precepts he has given in his Books. After all this, why should any adventure to prefer to this great man those modern Philosophers, who have only gain'd what reputation they have in the world by his Physics?

*In. discuss.  
Peripat.*

sicks? whose Systeme hath nothing of new but a pure order given to the opinions of *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, and such like: But we need not wonder at the falseness of this judgment, the Spirit of man is of such a composition, that it is less affected with the greatness of things, then their novelty; in which we appear like Children, whom great things move no, because they cannot comprehend them; but who are pleased with baubles so long as they seem new to them.

I will conclude this my third part with two reflexions on the excellency and utility of the Doctrine of these two great persons: For the excellence it is observable, that not only the Logick and Morals of *Plato* are less solid then those of *Aristotle*, as I have already said; but that *Aristotle* hath carried both the one and the other, to such a degree of perfection, that nothing can be added: for in his Logick he has given us the Art of correcting all the errors of the thought, of dissipating all the false lights of the Spirit, and preventing the natural precipitation of judgment, to make a just discernment between true and false; and thus his Logick is perfect, which he was as sensible of as any, it being the only work on which he valued himself; he quotes in his Morals and Physick the Philosophers that were

*Aristoteles in Phisicis & Ethicis, Phisicos & Ethicos Philosophos permulto appellavit, in Logico Organo neminem Logicos Doctorum citavit. Ram. c. 7. l. 1. Schol dial. &*

assistant

assistant to him ; but in his Logick he quotes  
 none ; he has likewise so distinctly explained all  
 the motions of the heart of man, and the end  
 and motives of all his actions, that his morals as  
 well as his Logick seem to reach the top of per-  
 fection ; nothing can be added neither to the  
 one or the other, unless perhaps some order be  
 wanting to set forth their beauty by a more natu-  
 ral distribution of the parts. For his Phy-  
 sicks I believe it only imperfect, where the mat-  
 ter is in fault, which might be better known and  
 searched into, were it less uncertain ; for we can-  
 not find out the depths of nature, which are so  
 obscure, and make what boasts we will of having  
 done it, we still are ignorant ; but of all Phy-  
 sicks the most reasonable and best founded is  
 that of *Aristotle*, all the world possibly will not  
 think so ; but 'tis particularly on this part of  
 Philosophy that the wise man has said, *That God*  
*had abandoned the knowledge*  
*of the world to the disputes of*  
*men* : I acknowledge that  
 this part is not raised to its  
 full height ; but may admit farther perfection.  
 The Metaphysics are a bundle of Principles ra-  
 ther then of precepts, of the knowledge of na-  
 tural beings, loosned from the matter : It can-  
 not be made more accomplished but by an order  
 more distinct ; things being disposed in the most  
 perfect manner imaginable, to take away the con-

*Tradidit mundum,*  
*disputationi eorum.*  
 Eccl.

fusion, natural to Idea's by the distinction of terms and their attributes. *St. Thomas* gives it worthy Elogies; *Aristotle* calls it his first Philosophy; because it is as it were a preparation to Logick, on

Πρώτῳ, φιλο-  
σοφίαν.

which all Sciences are grounded; for without Logick we can think nothing right; and the most essential fault of those who undertake either writing or speaking, is the want of it. *Aristotle* in his sixth Book of the *Metaphysics* attributes all the errors of the ancient Philosophers to their ignorance in Logick.

The benefit to be reaped by the Doctrine of *Plato* and *Aristotle* is great, by conversing *Plato* we gain that fertility of imagination, and that beauty of conception, which is the mother of Eloquence, and of all that is graceful in learning; and the reading of *Aristotle* begets judgment by the justness it imprints in the thoughts, all whose error it corrects. *Plato* Creates Orators and Poets by converse with him. That Method he has to explain things by their Idea's, and to tell them not as they are, but as they ought to be; and which he took from *Homer*, is that made all the great men of his time and since. 'Tis on this model that *Eurypides*, *Sophocles*, *Demosthenes*, *Hyperides*, *Eschines*, *Demades*, *Lysias*, *Pindar*, *Carneades*, *Cicero* and *Virgil* were formed; For they were all *Platonists*; As 'tis the Method of *Aristotle*, that did make *Theophrastus*, *Philoxenes*, *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, *Gallen*,  
*Boetius*,



*Boetius, Avicenna, Averroes, Alexander, & Ales, St. Thomas*, and all that have been solid in the great Sciences. They therefore are much mistaken, who seek models elsewhere then in these two Authors, to succeed in Learning, or make any reasonable progress in their Studies, which for the most part are without success: only because they are not well studied, 'tis possible it will be difficult to undeceive men among such numbers of modern Philosophers, who believe the Philosophy of *Aristotle* too ancient for Spirits *a la mode*, and think they may grow wise without conversing either *Plato* or *Aristotle*.

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*The End of the Third Part.*

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THE  
**OPINIONS**  
 OF THE  
 Wise Men of all Ages.  
 UPON THE  
**DOCTRINE**  
 OF  
**PLATO and ARISTOTLE.**  
 AND THE  
 Divers Adventures of their Sects.

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The Fourth Part.

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CHAP. I.

*The adventures of the Sect and Doctrine of Plato till the coming of our Saviour.*



After the death of *Plato*, *Speusippus* succeeded him in his School he followed his opinions, but strayed from his conduct, his manners answered not his Doctrine; for he let loose the Reins to pleasure; so that the Sect of *Plato* made little progress during the eight years that *Speusippus* taught,

in the Academy, by reason of his avarice, he turn'd away Scholers by the great recompences he demanded; and that so much the more, because *Plato* his predecessor had treated them in a more honest and disinterested manner.

*Xenocrates* after *Spensippus* death took the place, there was no agreement in their manner of teaching; he endeavored to deserve the esteem of the people by his honesty: *Alexander* sent him Presents, which he generously refused, thereby doing more honour to the Doctrine of *Plato*, then ever his predecessor had done; being addicted to decisions he could not accomodate himself to the manner of *Socrates*, who too much distrusted his own Reason; but pitched upon *Aristotles* way of establishing upon Principles, whatever he preferred. *Polemon* kept the School after him, his way of living was very dissolute, and he a great debauch; but he grew reformed by reading a discourse of *Xenocrates* upon Temperance. *Valerius Maximus* recounts the Story, St. *Austin* makes

*Val. Maxim. lib.*  
6. Pist.

*Aug. Epist. 130.*  
*Lucian in Sisyphus.*

mention of this adventure, And *Lucian* plays with it in his ordinary way. *Crates* and *Crantor*, who followed him in School of *Plato*, changed nothing of his Doctrine. *Arcefilas*, who succeeded them, reformed something by re-establishing the method of *Socrates*, which was in a manner left off, and by this reformation he founded the second Academy.

*Zenon,*

*Zeno*, who was afterwards the chief of the *Stoicks*, had studied under *Polemon*, with *Arcefilas*. *Zeno* had a subtle Spirit, and professed to

*Mos Socratis cum a posterioribus non esset retentus Arcefilas eum revocavit. Cic. 2. de fin.*

oppose the opinions of *Plato*; this opposition fixed *Arcefilas* the more earnestly to the Doctrine of *Socrates*, and obliged him likewise to conceal under new Mysteries the true opinions of *Plato* to make them more vulluable.

*Arcefilas ignorantie Magister cum Zenoni obrectaret, auctore Socrate suscipit hanc sententiam, un nihil sciri posse statuerit Lactant. lib. 3. c. 6.*

Philosophy was now studied with great eagerness in *Athens*, from whence sprung up the several Sects of Philosophers, of which the *Stoicks* and *Epicureans* were the chief; and as there are some Spirits naturally free, and others naturally slaves, every one took part according to his Genius, and and put himself at the head, or in the train of one of their Sects, which divided the best Spirits of all *Greece*; and afterwards of the whole Universe; but the opinions of *Zeno* and *Epicurus* were most cryed up, by reason of their novelty; and by their means the progress of the Sect of *Plato* was for some time interrupted.

*Zeno*

## ZENO.

*Senserunt hoc Stoici qui servis & mulieribus Philosophandum esse dicebant. Lact. lib. 3. inst. cap. 23.*

*Zeno* was of *Cyprus*, he drew after him many followers, by receiving all sorts of persons into his School, and by teaching that all the world was capable of his Philosophy, he taught in the *Portico* of *Athens*, which the Pictures of *Polygnotes* had made so famous; whence his Scholars were called *Stoicks*, though he fiercely declared himself against the Academy, yet he held many of their opinions; he taught a kind of *Metempsychosis* of the Soul, and a reminiscence of the mind, like to that of *Plato*; he gave nothing to opinion, that he might not leave his wise man in an uncertain Estate. Virtue was the Sovereign good in his Morals, he upheld his reputation by the purity of his manners, and the frugality of his life. But nothing more recommended his Philosophy in its progress than that constancy he inspired into his followers in the extremity of affairs, which appear'd in the Adventures of *Cato*, *Brutus*, *Cassius*, *Pætus*, and other such persons who were *Stoicks*. *Antigonus* the successor of *Alexander* in *Macedon*, touched with admiration at the Virtues of *Zeno*, sent him a very civil Letter, desiring to be admitted into his Sect. The *Athenians* gave him very great honours; *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt* sent an express Ambassador to assure him of his esteem; In short, this Philosopher was mighty

ty famous in his beginnings. But the virtue which Zeno taught was so false in the most part of its Maximes; the pride he conceived to make man become equal to God appeared so vain, and the Idea of his wise man so full Chimera,

*Hoc mihi Philosophia promittat, ut me Deo parem faciat.* Sen. Ep. 48.

that it became ridiculous; and Cicero does rally very pleasantly on it in divers parts of his works, and especially in his *Tusculans*, where he relates the pleasant account that Pompey one day gave him of the Philosopher *Possidonius*. Pompey came to visit him in his School passing by *Rhodes*, on his return from the *Mithridatick* War. This Philosopher was then very much tormented with the Gout; but the occasion to let a Roman and a Conquerour see the Idea of Stoical virtue, gave him courage to make him a discourse from his bed of the beauty and excellency of his Morals. The pain was so grievous to him while he was endeavoring to speak, that he could not so well counterfeit, but Pompey perceived it, and the pride of that Philosopher appeared to him the more contemptible; the more he affected to act the brave, defying his distemper with these words. 'Tis in

*Nil agis dolor nunquam te malum confitebor.* 2 *Tuscul.* Plin. l. 7. c. 30.

vain pains that you assault me, I will never confess you to be an evil. The opinions of *Egeſias* and *Theodorus*, who were of this Sect, and who taught that the wise man was made only for

for himself, and that he ought nothing, neither to his Countrey nor Relations, appeared so extravagant, that it much cryed down their party, yet were there many great persons who followed it, as *Cleantes*, *Chrysippus*, *Panetius*, *Cato*, *Brutus*, *Seneca*, *Epicetius*, *Arrian*, and many others, who have done honour to this Doctrine; but *Plutarch* drew upon him the scorn of all honest people, when he discovered the falsity of this morality, in his discourse he writ against the Stoicks.

**EPICURUS**

*negat quemquam jucundè posse vivere, nisi idem justè vivat. Cic. 5. de fin.*

*Animi voluptates & dolores nasci fatetur è corporis voluptatibus & doloribus. Cic. 1. de fin.*

**EPICURUS** rose up about the same time, and taught as well as *Zeno* the love of Virtue; but that only for the pleasure of it, and in that pleasure he comprehended that of the Sense, as well as that of the Soul, maintaining that a wise man could not be happy if he enjoyed not all pleasures mankind was capable of; but he explained not himself openly on that part, relating to the pleasure of the Sense, least he might create an ill opinion of his Doctrine; and by this management he gave occasion to the raising afterwards of divers opinions upon his true

conceptions, which some have believed to be Innocent. 'Tis most true he was a very wise and discreet debauch, who gave not himself up to pleasure,



pleasure, but by Art and Method; but in the whole, let what will be said of him, he had very little Religion, one Maxime he held, not to trouble the peace of his mind with the fear of the Gods, he did not in outward appearance deny there were Gods, for fear of opposing the general opinion of the Athenians, who were very zealous in their Religion; but in effect he did not believe there were any. He

*Epicurus Deos verbo posuit re sustulit.*  
Cic.

took from *Democritus* the Principles of his Physick, and from *Aristippus* those of his Morals, and me thinks *Lucretius* mistakes a little, when he praises *Epicurus* for having opened the barriers of nature, which were opened

*Confringere ut arcta naturæ primus portarum claustra cupirit.* Lucr. lib. 1.

long time before him, for except the declension of Atoms, with a motion of weight, which he added to the Philosophy of *Democritus*, he found out nothing new in the Physicks; though he inclined much to them as to a help,

he judged necessary to a wise man against ignorance; for Ignorance is ever capable of raising disturbances in the

*De Epicuro qui ceteras disciplinas fugit nihil moror.* Fab. lib. 11. cap. 18.

mind; but he despised Logick and other Sciences, as useless to the sweetness of life, though after all, his Logick is in all parts of it very fine. The people followed the Doctrine of the *Stoicks*, who refused none, and persons of quality fol-

lowed the Doctrine of *Epicurus*, distinguishing themselves from the common sort by this Doctrine, so that the number was for *Zeno*, and the merit for *Epicurus*.

The emulation bred between these two Sects was great; the *Stoicks*

*Inter Stoicos & Epicuros  
S tam secutos pugna perpe-  
tua est. Fab. l. 5. c. 7.*

cried down the Doctrine of *Epicurus* as too sensual; nor was there any

thing thenceforth spoken injuriously of that Sect in which the *Stoicks* had not a part; but in recompence the *Epicureans* treated the *Stoicks* with abundance of scorn, and looked upon them as meer wretches. This so great animosity between them opened again a free course for the Doctrine of *Plato*, though it were not altogether so much *a la mode* as the other two Sects.

*Cicero*, who knew very well the Successors of *Plato*, says nothing of that *Bion*, whom *Diogenes* would have to be Successor of *Arcefilas*; and who became famous for the sharpness of his Satyrs in the judgment of *Horace*;

*Hor. epist. 11.  
lib. 2.*

however it were *Lacydes*, *E-vander*, and *Hegefnus* succeeded

one after another in the time of the height of the *Stoicks*, and *Epicureans*. This *Lacydes* was the chief of the new Academy with *Carneades*, who came some time after him, and who embraced part of his Opinions: 'Tis true, he remitted something of the rigour wherewith *Arcefilas* had perplexed the Doctrine of *Plato*; for

*Arcefilas*

*Arcefilas* esteemed nothing certain, no, nor nothing true in Nature. *Carneades* taught afterwards, that things sensible and material, were as it were the shadow of truth; by which at least he acknowledges that there was a probability.

This Philosopher being sent with *Critolaus*, and *Diogenes* in Embassie to Rome, about the affair of *Oropus*, under the Consulat of *P. Scipio*, and *Marcellus*, did so much astonish the Senate of Rome by the force of his Eloquence, that as soon as he was heard, *Cato* the Censor was of advice to send him away immediately; for he would so dazle their understanding with his discourses, that after he had spoke, there would be no way left to distinguish truth from falshood; and the Senators complained, if we may believe *Ælian*, That that Philosopher came to do them violence in the very Senate house by the force of his reasons. *Cicero* gives great praise to this man, when he says, That he perswaded whatever he pleased. Never was there any person that had a greater Talent of perswading then *Carneades*; and the Profession he made at Rome to follow the Doctrine of *Plato*, did much augment its reputation. *Clitomachus*, *Philon*, and *Antiochus*, who were *Cicero*'s Masters, were Successors to *Carneades*, and made this Doctrine yet more considerable in the same place by the

same they acquired it : For when *Scipio* and *Laelius* had begun to inspire into the *Romans* an inclination to Learning, and a desire to grow wise, all the people of quality went to study Philosophy at *Athens* under those great men who then taught there : 'I was this likewise that inclined *Cicero* to the Doctrine of *Plato*, to which he gives many praises in his Works ; and though he made no profession of fixing himself to any one Sect, he agreed however with that Incomprehensibility, which *Plato* and his Suc-

*Nihil percipi posse dicamus. Cic. off. 1.*

*De finib. 1. quest. Tuscul.*

*Deus noster Plato Ep. ad Quen frat.*

cessors had established, and acknowledges, that nothing could be known with a perfect certainty ; and yet he was perswaded, that though we cannot be assured of any thing, yet we should not let pass a principle of Probability, which is the chief foundation of all deliberations made in the ordinary affairs of life. But nothing won *Cicero* more to the Doctrine of *Plato*, then the advantage he found in it of advancing Eloquence, which was his highest passion :

*Plato mihi unus instructor omnium. De Clar. Orat.*

And in truth *Cicero* gained that air of Eloquence, which so raised

*Platonem authorem ego vehementer sequor. Lib. 1. Ep. Fannius,*

his reputation, from the reading of *Plato*, and conversing with those of that Sect which were his Masters. *Snidas* reports, that *Harpocraton*, who was of *Argos*, and a great *Platonist*, taught this Philosophy to *Julius Caesar*, in those Conferences he had with him, and by those two Volumes he writ of the Opinions of *Plato*: Though *Plutarch* assures us, that Prince in those vaste thoughts inspired his ambition, followed more the Morals of *Epicurus*, not concerning himself much with Religion, with which he was little affected. *Brutus* in the opinion of the same *Plutarch*, was once addicted to the Doctrine of *Plato*; but he forsook the opinions of the new Academy to follow those of the old, by the Counsel of *Antiochus*, who was *Cicero's* Master. And it was this same Philosopher who some time afterwards turned *Brutus* Stoick, being himself become so after having been an Academician, as *Cicero* observes. This was the estate of the Sect and Doctrine of *Plato* to the time of the first Emperors of *Rome*; so that this Doctrine had spread it self in *Greece* and *Italy*, not onely by the merit of those who professed it, as I have said before, but likewise by the Copies of *Plato's* Works, which multiplied extreamly during this progress of years, and were got into the hands of almost all knowing men. I have said no-

thing of the Sect of *Pyrhoniſms*, or *Sceptiques*, though it were purely formed out of the Doctrine of *Plato*, in the time of the Reformations made by *Arceſilas*, and *Carnedes*, becauſe *Plutarch* has writ a large Treatiſe to ſhew the difference between this Sect and the *Platonists*.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

*The Adventures of the Sect and Doctrine of Aristotle, till the coming of our Saviour.*

THE Doctrine of *Aristotle* remained in almost utter obscurity, during the time that that of *Plato* became so flourishing in *Greece* and *Italy*, which were then the onely Countreys where Learning was in any reput. *Theophrastus* the faithful Scholar of *Aristotle* was his Successor in the *Lycæum*; never was Scholar more worthy of the Friendship of such a Master, whose spirit he fully possessed. 'Tis said that *Aristotle* could not resolve to publish his Writings out of the respect he had for *Plato*, because he opposed his Opinions in many things: But there was in this management more policy then virtue; for he well foresaw, that the minds of men were then too much prepossessed in favour of *Plato's* Doctrine; therefore to keep his Writings concealed, he intrusted them to *Theophrastus*, expressly prohibiting their making publick, which was exactly observed; So that *Theophrastus*, who was his Trustee, *Straton*, *Lycon*, *Deme-*  
K 4 *trius*,

*trius* the *Phalerian*, and *Heraclides*, who succeeded one after another in the *Lycæum*, taught only the Doctrine of *Aristotle* by pure Tradition; but this Tradition not being supported by any Writings, became cold and feeble in progress of time, and shew'd nothing of that life and flame appeared in the other Sects. *Epicurus* invented many slanders of *Aristotle* to cry

Athen. l. 8.

down his Doctrine, though *Athenians* believe it not; because *Cephisodorus* and *Eubulis*, who evil intreated him in

whole Volumes, make no mention of it. But the Writings of *Aristotle* had an adventure so strange after *Theophrastus* death, by

Strab. l. 13.

*Strabo's* report, that it will be convenient to declare the progress, and observe all the circumstance, to set forth well the causes of the silence of *Aristotle's* Doctrine in those ages when *Plato's* made such noise.

*Theophrastus* to obey exactly the orders of his Master, did at his death intrust to the dearest of his Friends and Scholars the Writings of *Aristotle*, with the same conditions had been imposed on him: This Friend was called *Nelæus*, who was of *Scepsis*, a City of *Troas*, and who died soon after; yet not without letting his Heirs understand the value of the trust he left them; and they apprehended it so well, that understanding that the King of *Pergamus*, on whom the City of *Scepsis* depended; made great search for Books and Writings to compose a

Library,

Librar  
pose t  
securi  
cealed  
One l  
was i  
almo  
wher  
taken  
zen

Phi  
a Phi  
Ibid.

obse  
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the  
red  
fam  
afte  
Gro  
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pre  
A  
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Library, they buried in a Vault built on purpose the Writings of *Aristotle* for their better security. This so precious Treasure lay concealed in that secret place for the space of near One hundred and sixty years; from whence it was in the end taken out half worm-eaten, and almost all spoiled with the moisture of the place where they had hid it: And it was now onely taken out to be sold very dearly to a rich Citizen of *Athens* called *Apellicon*, who had a fancy to become considerable by amassing together a great number

φιλόβιβλος,  
 & φιλόσοφος.  
 Ibid.

of books, though he had no *Genius* for the Sciences, as *Strabo*

observes. The Professors which then taught in the *Lycæum* having understood it, made their address to this Citizen, who for some time lent them these Writings, but had them after restored and placed in his Library, which became famous by so excellent an addition. Some years after *Sylla* having made himself Master of all *Greece*, and having took *Athens*, understood that there was nothing in that whole City more precious, then those Writings of *Aristotle* which *Apellicon* had in his Library, whereupon he made them betaken thence, and carried to *Rome*. But that ambition which possessed *Sylla* to make himself Master of the Commonwealth, gave no leisure to think of letting the *Romans* know the Treasure he had brought from *Greece*. He died soon after, and these Writings fell into the hands

hands of a Grammarian named *Tyramnon*, who had got knowledge of them by the acquaintance he had with *Sylla's* Library-keeper. Though this Grammarian were a very able man, and had erected a Library of above Thirty thousand Volumes, since *Lucullus* had taken him in the *Mithridatick* War, and brought him to *Rome*, yet he knew not the Value of *Aristotle's* Works.

But after his death *Andronicus* the *Rhodian* being come to *Rome*, and understanding very well the merit of *Aristotle*, as having been bred in the *Lyceum*, he treated with the Heirs of *Tyramnon* for these Writings; and having got possession of them, applied himself with so much earnestness to examine and understand them, that in some sort he was their first restorer, as *Porphyrius* assures us in the life of *Plotyn*, for he not onely supplied what was spoiled by the length of time, and by the negligence of those had had them in their hands; but he likewise reformed that strange confusion in which he found them, and caused them to be copied. 'Twas this *Andronicus* who begun to make *Aristotle* known in *Rome*, about the time that *Cicero* had by the greatness of his reputation raised himself to the highest charges of the Commonwealth; and who being returned some time before from a Voyage into *Greece*, having there conversed with the most able men of the Country, he had likewise heard what *Aristotle* was, and had

had understood a part of his merit, who was scarce then known at all at Rome, as appears by the Surprize of *Trebatius*; who coming to visit *Cicero* at his house at *Tusculum*, and going with him into his Library, he took up by chance the Book of *Aristotle's* Topicks, of which *Cicero* had a Copy: *Trebatius* asked him what that Book was, and of what matter it treated? For though he was not ignorant, yet he had never heard speak of *Aristotle*. *Cicero* made answer, that it was no wonder, for that *Philosopher* was known but to very few people.

*Quod quidem minime sum admiratus eum Philosophum Trebatio non esse cognitum, qui ab ipsis philosophis præter modum paucos ignoretur. Topic: nu.*

As for *Plato*, he was then known to all the world; for before the taking of *Athens* by *Sylla*, there was no Philosophy taught publickly at Rome but that of *Plato*, and the *Stoicks*: That which they tell us of *Cratippus*, who in the time of *Cicero* taught the Philosophy of *Aristotle* in *Mitylene*, is not considerable, nor could he teach it but by Tradition: 'Tis therefore no wonder if *Cicero*, and the Authours of that time, gave the advantage to *Plato* over *Aristotle*; the reputation of the first was full grown, and that of the second was onely in its Infancy; it is true, that *Athenaus* pretends that there was a Copy of the Works of *Aristotle* in that Famous Library of the Kings of *Egypt*, which was be-

gun by *Philadelphus* the Second of the *Ptolemies*, after the death of *Alexander*. I acknowledge that *Aristotle* might let some of his Writings escape him, as *Alexander* reproched him; but there is no likelihood that all his Works were in this Library; besides that, there is no Record that any person learnt knowledge by this way: So that it may with truth enough be said, that *Aristotle* was little known to the time of *Augustus*, and that *Plato* was very much. And indeed the *Romans* addicted themselves then much less to become great Philosophers, then to be excellent Oratours; for Eloquence was then the only means to raise men to high and considerable Charges. Philosophy was onely in use, for the Morals of which they formed a Religion to reduce men to their Duties in relation to the Gods, and men.

*ut homo per philosophiam cultum decorum, & religionem susceperet.* Cic. 1. de leg.

## CHAP. III.

*The Adventures of the Sect and  
Doctrine of Plato in the first  
Eight Ages after the coming of  
our Saviour.*

**T**HE Reputation of *Plato* being so much the firmer established at *Rome* by *Cicero's* approbation of his Works, particularly in his *Academicks*, it continued so under the Empire of *Augustus*, and under that of *Tiberius*, which was a time favourable to Letters, and Learned men; though *Tiberius* did unjustly put to death *Thrasyllus* the *Platonist*, a man of universal knowledge. *Philon* the Jew, whom *St. Jerome* calls in his *Epistles* a second *Plato*, gain'd much credit to this Doctrine under the Empire of *Caligula*, and *Claudius*; the affairs of his Countrey having then brought him to *Rome*, where he lived under those two Emperours. *Se-*

*Thrasyllus multarum  
artium scientiam pro-  
fessus postremo se dedit  
Platonica Sectæ. Schol.  
Juven. in Sat. 6.*

*Quid loquar de Philo-  
sophone quem alterum Pla-  
tonem critici promuci-  
ant. Hier. epist. ad  
mag. orat. Rom.*

*neca,*

*mea*, who was the Ornament of *Nero's* Court, gave splendour to the Philosophy of the *Stoicks*, which he professed; through *Dion* of *Bythina*, and *Moderatus* of *Cadis*, and some other *Platonists* the particular Doctrine of *Plato*, to which the honest sort of people applied themselves in natural things; though the most followed the Morals of *Epicurus*, which best agreed with their tempers.

About this time *St. Paul* being come to *Athens* to preach the Doctrine of *Jesus Christ*, had no dealings at all with the *Platonists*; at least the Author of the *Acts* of the Apostles is silent in that point, though he speaks of the opposition the *Stoicks* and *Epicureans* gave him. It is to be thought, that after the taking of *Athens* by *Sylla*, *Plato's* School was not so famous; at least *Laertius* concludes his History of the Successors of *Pl* to about that time, in which the Wise men of *Greece* begun to leave their Countrey to follow the Fortune of their Conquerours, and came to settle at *Rome*, which was the head of the Empire: But affairs were so perplexed under the succeeding Emperors, that Philosophy gave place to the spirit of Intrigue and Faction, which began to take form under the corrupt government of the first Emperors. There is also some likelihood that the study of Philosophy was at this time forbid at *Rome* to persons of quality, and especially to Senators, as appears in the life of

*Agr*;

*Agricola*, who went to study at *Marseilles*, where Learning then flourished.

*Julium Agricola* per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adolescentiamque *Massiliæ* transegisse, Sede & Magistra studiorum.

*Mussonius* a great follower of *Plato*, as well as *Apollonius Thyaneus*, making use of their Philosophy to the disturbance of Affairs under *Domitian*, obliged that Emperour to drive all philosophers from *Rome*, by an Edict very injurious to them, and which did much lessen the credit of Philosophy: Though 'tis pretended, that an Astrologer called *Metius Pomponianus* was the cause of this Edict by the Horoscope he erected of that Emperour.

*Studia Philosophiæ ultra quam concessam Romæ & Senatori hausisse in prudentia maris coe- cisset, Tacit. in ejus vita.*

This Persecution lasted till *Trajan's* time, who grew something more favourable to learned men, though himself was not learned. The Emperour

*Suet. in Domiti. Dion. Chrysost. orat. 40. Philost. in Apol.*

*Adrian*, who was his Successor, and who loved Philosophy for the sake of *Plutarch* his Master, re-established the Exercise of it in the City of *Alexandria*, where it was almost ceased since the burning of that Royal School, and that famous Library which the Kings of *Egypt* had erected in their Palace; For *Julius Cæsar* in the

the making himself Master of *Alexandria* after the death of *Pompey*, caused to be set on fire certain suspected Houses about the Palace, the flames of which took into the Library, and burnt Seven hundred thousand Volumes, which had been gathered together by the diligence of *Philetas* the Master of *Philadelphus*, and that of *Erastosthenes*, and *Apollonius* the *Rhodian*, who were Library keepers. The desire *Adrian* had to be learned was so great, that he had some jealousy of *Phaenarius* his Secretary, if we may believe *Suidas*, because he was more knowing than himself: However it was his love to Learning that made him recall to *Rome* *Epictetus* the great *Stoick*, *Numenius* the *Platonist*, and other Philosophers which had been expelled by *Domitian*. And it was likewise by the order of *Adrian*, that *Nicias* of *Smyrna*, *Polemon*, *Denys* the Sophist, of whom *Philostrophes* speaks, *Pancrates*, and several other Wise men were sent to *Alexandria* to teach all the Sciences; and

Ex Spartan. that Emperour coming afterwards to *Alexandria*, proposed sundry Questions to the Philosopher he had sent thither, and himself resolved them.

*Antoninus*, and *Marcus Aurelius*, who were his Successors in the Empire, were so likewise in the inclinations he had for Learning, especially for Philosophy, which they both very ardently affected. *Herodian* says in his History, that the passion which *Marcus Aurelius* had for Philosophy,



Philosophy brought it into exceeding request, and produced great numbers of Philosophers during his Reign; he established in the Schools of Athens the ancient Discipline which was much decayed, and gave great allowances to the Professors, as *Capitolinus* assures us; which *Lucian* sets forth at large in his Eunuch: Nay, so much was this Prince affected with the quality of Philosophy, that *Athenagoras*, of whom *Methodius* makes mention among his Ecclesiastical Authors, being sent to him on the behalf of the Greek Churches, complemented him and his Son *Commodus* with the Name of Philosophers; believing he could not better flatter their Vanity then by this Title.

*Maximus* of *Tyrus*, a great Platonist, who had been one of the Masters of *Marcus Aurelius*, contributed largely towards the making him love Philosophy, and towards bringing the Doctrine of *Plato* into vogue in his Court. *Nu-  
menius*, of whom *Eusebius* speaks, who had a great Reputation under the two *Antonines*, and that

Eus. in præp.  
Evang. l. 11.

*Cronius*, who writ in the same time a part of the History of the *Academy*, did both the one and the other, raise so much the credit of *Plato* at *Rome*, that his Doctrine became *a la mode* among the Ladies at Court; insomuch, that a Stoick called *Apollonius*, of whom *Photius* speaks, writ a History of the

Phot. in Bibliot.

Platonick Ladies. *Apuleius*, who was of *Mau-  
dura*,

*Andra*, and *Galen* that famous Physician, both of this Court added likewise much credit to *Plato*, by what they writ on his Doctrine. *Diogenes Laertius* yet added more to the Reputation of this Philosopher, by that admirable Work he composed on the History of the Ancient Philosophers, which he dedicated to a Lady of *Severus* Court, called *Arphia*, passionately affectionate for *Plato*, as he says himself; and the same which *Galen* cur'd of a weakness of Stomach with his Treacle. *Julia* the Empress encouraged by the Example of her Husband *Severus*, (who was much more favourable to Learning than the Emperour *Commodus* his Predecessor, shewed great respect to the Sciences, and Learned men, as *Dion* reports; and it was she that commanded *Philostrophes* to write the Life of *Apollonius Thyanaus*, such was her inclination to Philosophy. In fine, the reputation of *Sextus Empirius*, who was the chief of the Fifth Academy, made *Plato* very considerable under the *Antonines*, and even to the Reign of *Severus*, there was scarce any other Philosophy taught at *Rome*, but that of *Plato*.

Such was the estate wherein stood the Philosophy of *Plato* in all this first age, which was that of the birth of the Church, and the Establishment of our Religion, and the greatest obstacle which the Apostles, and their immediate successors found in propagating the Gospel, was Philosophy, of which the world was then so full, that

no

no sooner did St. Paul appear in Athens to Preach Jesus Christ, but the Epicureans and Stoicks rise up against him, as we may read in Acts. And St. Austin in the discourse he makes on the Sermon of that Apostle, affirms him to have had no great success, because there reigned at Athens a spirit of curiosity, onely extending it self to satisfy the appetite people had to learn something new. This fancy of reasoning every where upon Principles of Philosophy increased daily under those Emperours I but now spoke of. Upon which Lucian makes perpetual railleries: He never is in a better humour, nor never speaks better things, then of those Philosophers, and of the head Philosophy had gain'd in those days, which he takes pleasure on all occasions to render ridiculous.

So that the knowing men that were among the Christians, that they might not be at continual oppositions with the learned among the Heathen, who disdained to hearken to any who made not profession of some Philosophy, took at last part with the Platonists; because the Doctrine of Plato was then most in vogue: For the Stoicks began to lose their credit, Plutarch and Lucian having made evident the falsity of their virtue, in divers of their works; and

*Quidam Epicurei & Stoici differebant cum eo, & dicebant, quid vult semini verbius hic dicere. 17. Act.*

*Athenienses ad nihil aliud vacabant, nisi aut dicere aut audire aliquid novi. Ibid.*

it happened to their excess of severity, which happens generally to all excesses, to fall at last into looseness; and their wise man in *Idea* was become a meer *Chymera*. The Philosophy of *Epicurus*, which taught the Art of enjoying pleasures methodically, began likewise in progress of time to become insupportable, by the natural importment of passions which become more violent when they are flattered, as was seen in this Sect; and though *Epicurus* seem'd onely to aim at the pleasure of the mind, yet his Philosophy became so sensual in the end, that it was utterly cried down by all that were truly virtuous: For *Aristotle* was yet but little known; so all declared for *Plato*.

For it was believed, that besides the not having for absolute opposites all those multitudes of Philosophers, of which the world was full, it would be the best means to weaken the forces of the rest, to apply themselves to those whose opinions were least contrary to the Principles of our Religion; and the Sect of *Plato* was judged the most proper of all others, for the *Christians* to enter into society with: The principal reasons of which were, that the School of *Plato* finding nothing certain in nature, save uncertainty, it was guessed easier to introduce our lights into those spirits, which were already, as it were, prepared to quit their own opinions by the profession of a Philosophy so little obstinate in their Principles; that that Wisdom which  
acknow-

acknowledged its want of power to find any thing true upon earth, would more readily dispose the mind to a subjection to truths that came from Heaven, that it would be facile for that Sect to acknowledge the necessity of Faith, which held all natural knowledge onely for pure opinion; that that philosophy which rais'd man above himsef by the method of its *Idea's*, that relieved him against his proper sense, by making him doubt of all things, might more readily be disposed to Christianity, which raises us above humane, and fixes us to divine things; that *Plato* teaching man in the Dialogue of *Cratyles*, and in that concerning Death, that the Body is onely the Prison and Sepulchre of the Soul, might likewise inspire the contempt of it, and dispose to that virtuous Mortification, so necessary to a Christian: And in fine, that a Soul that observed in all its faculties nothing but wants, and real miseries, as *Plato* teaches in his *Phedon*, and in other of his Works, would with little difficulty relish those Maximes of Christian humility, which begin to form man to perfection by a sensible knowledge of his nothingness.

These are the chief reasons that made the Christians determine to accommodate themselves to the Sect of *Plato*, in the necessity they found themselves of embracing some one; and this necessity appear'd more evident by the conversion of *Iustine* the Philosopher, who was after-

wards a Martyr, he professed that nothing had more disposed his spirit to submit to the truths of our Faith, then *Plato's* Philosophy, of which he had been a great follower. He professes likewise his Dialogue to *Thryphon*, that after having sought truth in all the Schools of Philosophy, he had found only in that of *Plato* wherewith to raise him above earth, where all the rest seem'd rather to fix him. The like happened to *Tatien* his Scholar, who was a great *Platonick*; for he learnt at *Rome* that Philosophy that prepared him for Christianity. *Quadratus* Bishop of *Athens*, who writ an Apology for our Religion to the Emperour *Adrian*, of which *St. Jerome* speaks, and which was the Model of that afterwards writ by *St. Justin*; this *Quadratus*, I say, as also *Apollinaris* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, and *Meliton* Bishop of *Sardes*, were great followers of *Plato's* Doctrine.

I speak not of those other Fathers, who defended against the Heathen the Holiness and Innocence of our Religion by the Purity of their Zeal, and Solidity of their Reasons: As *Aristides*, who maintained by his Philosophy the Gospel of *JESUS CHRIST* under *Adrian*; and that wise *Apollonius*, who with all the splendour of his Senators Purple, justified the scandal of the Cross under the Emperour *Commodus*, who caused him to be beheaded. Nor will I speak of *Athenagoras*, of *Panthemus* mentioned by *Eusebius*, of *Methodius*, and of that *Bardesanes*,

had *Plato*, who wrote against *Marcion*. But I cannot  
 pass by with silence that most accomplished of  
 all Platonists, and most excellent of all the Fa-  
 thers, the great *Origen*, who defended with so  
 much success the Doctrine of *JESUS*  
*CHRIST* against *Celsus*, the greatest Enemy  
 it then had: Nor did he undertake its defence,  
 till after having arm'd his spirit with the Do-  
 ctrine of *Plato*; of which he was so eager a  
 professor, as all the world knows. *Saint Austin*  
 likewise professes in divers parts  
 of his Works, that among all  
 the prophane Authors he had  
 read, he found none with  
 whom he could more readily

*Lib. de vera re-*  
*lig. c. 9. Epist ad*  
*Dioscor. lib. confes.*  
*7. & 8 c. 2. & 9.*

incline to enter into a negotiation in matter of  
 Religion, than the *Platonists*; and he assures us,  
 that the most illustrious Doctors of his time  
 became *Christians* out of the Schools of *Plato*.  
 The distrust which these Fathers of the two first  
 Ages had of the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, which  
 consulted onely pure sense and reason, and  
 seem'd too much fix'd to them, contributed not  
 a little to make the Doctrine of *Plato* more re-  
 commendable to the Primitive *Christians*.

But after all, this admirable Philosophy, the  
 splendour of which at first dazzled mens minds,  
 reigned onely for a time; there was at last  
 found poyson to be concealed under these flow-  
 ers. *Tertullian* was one of the first that disco-  
 vered it, his having taken part with the Sect of



the *Stoicks*, was that perhaps set him on to declare his animosity against the *Platonists*, whom he calls the first Authors of those Heresies that sprung up in his time. The misfortune of *Origen* to fall in so dreadful a manner into Errour, made likewise the greatest part of the *Christians* open their eyes, and confess *Plato* the author of his disorders. Saint *Hyppolitus* Martyr, whose Writings are so highly approved by St. *Jerome*, and by *Eusebius*, declaims loud-

*Euseb. in Antick.* ly against this Philosopher, as the most dangerous of all,

*Lactantius*, and *Arnobius*, both the most famous Oratours of their time, writ vehemently against *Plato* in those admirable Books of theirs penned about the latter end of the third Age: But of all the Fathers of those times, none seems to have more justly blamed the Doctrine of that Philosopher then St. *Chrisostome*, in the Preface to his Homilies on St. *Matthew*, where he makes *Plato* pass for a Visionary, and the *Idea's* of his Commonwealth for Extravagancies.

'Twas then now first discerned, that this Philosophy was not altogether so favourable to Christianity as was believed; because it sought out the truth onely not to find it, that it accustomed the spirit to doubt in the most certain things; and that it plac'd Science onely in irresolution, and in those doubts of which it made Profession. It appear'd afterwards, as it came to be more known, to be as much opposite to

our



our Religion, as it seem'd to be conformable; for *Plato* having mixt his own imaginations with what he had learnt in *Egypt* by Traditions from the *Jews*, did insensibly inspire the mind with a liberty to mingle his Visions with things established. In his School likewise were formed the Heresies of the *Gnosticks*, and the *Valentians*, as *Tertullian* observes, who tells us in the book of the Soul, *That the Doctrine of Plato was become the seasoning of all heresies*. *St. Epiphanius* says the same things in his Works, where he tells us, that most part of the Heresies of his time, especially the *Marcionites*, and the *Manichees*, were come out of the School of *Plato*. *Saint Cyril* calls it the Fountain of Ignorance and Impiety; from which sprung *Arrianisme*, which stirr'd up so great troubles in the Church. For this reason likewise *Saint Gregory Nazianzen* treats the Works of this Philosopher as *Chimera's* and *Illusions*: And *St. Austin*, who had so much esteem for him in his youth, because he found him pleasant, began to accuse him when he came to riper years; he writ likewise against this Sect that Work he calls *against the Academians*, where he confesses, that the Doctrine of *Plato* had put him into irresolutions; and he repents in the Book of his *Retractions*,  
his

*Tertul. cap. 7.  
de præf.*

*Doleo bona fide Platonem omnium hæreticorum factum esse condimentum.*

*Epiph. lib. de hæresib.*

his having had any esteem or complaisance for him, Saint *Ambrose* likewise does much dishonour him in his Writings against that Philosopher, as Cardinal *Baronius* testifies.

Bar. ad ann. 384. ann. Eccl.

We find likewise that *Justin* the Martyr, *Tatian* his Disciple, *Athenagoras*, *Bardesanes*, and the other Apologists of the Gospel, who in the end of the first Age, and during all that second, had so much cried up *Plato*, were not very correct in their Opinions, but fell almost all into that Errour concerning the mystery of the Trinity; for which *Arrius* was afterwards condemned. *Tatian*, who had so

Bar. Annal.  
Eccl. ad annum  
174.

courageously defended the Religion under *Marcus Aurelius*, became head of the *Eucratistes* by the Doctrine of *Plato*. *Tertullian* says,

*Tertul. contr.  
heret. c. 7.*

that *Marcion* made a false Idea of God by that he had taken from this Philosopher. *Sabellius* became not a Heretick, but by his obliquity in *Plato's* Doctrine, and defil'd by his imaginations the Purity of Christianity, as fair water is defiled by mixing it with mud, as *Theodoret* observes. Saint *Basil* says, that the thought of

*Theodoret. l. de curand. affectib. Græcorum.*

*Plato*

Plato concerning the Chaos which preceded the Creation of the World in his *Timæus*, where he speaks of the Earth as of a Canvas prepared for the drawing a Picture on, is an error formed by him from the first words of *Genesis* which he had read.

*Terra autem est inanis & vacua. Gen. i.*

Therefore the Fathers of the third and fourth Age that knew the danger of *Plato's* Philosophy, utterly distrusted it, though it had received approbation among the *Christians* of the first and second Age. Yet it became more famous and flourishing then ever among the Heathens, under the Emperors *Godian*, *Philip*, *Valerian*, and *Julian*, by the Works of *Plotinus*, who was the first and most famous Commentatour on *Plato*. This *Plotin* was of *Egypt*, he studied Philosophy in *Alexandria* under that *Ammonius*, who from a Porter became one of the greatest Philosophers of his time, and who was a Christian. *Tryphon* the Scholar of *Origen* reproched this *Plotinus*, for having stole from *Numenius* who lived under the *Antonines*, what he had writ of *Plato*; of which *Acelius* justifies him in an express Work. However it were, *Plotin* explains the Doctrine of *Plato* in so excellent a manner, in that Commentary he made, that it may be said he added to his fame in the Court of *Gallienus*,

was; for the Emperor and the Empress *Salonina* had both so much esteem and consideration for *Plotinus*, that they permitted him to establish the Government *Plato* had given the *Idea* of, in his Books of the Commonwealth, in a City of *Italy*, which they gave him to make trial in. But this design came to nothing for many reasons; though *Plotinus* was the Instrument of making re-flourish the Doctrine of *Plato* in that

*Recentiores Philosophi nobilissimi quibus Plato sectarius placuit non uerunt dici Academici sed Platonici quibus sunt nobilitati, Plotinus, Iamblicus, Porphyrius. Aug. l. 8. de Civit. c. 12.*

Age; for 'twas in his School were bred up all those illustrious *Platonists* of the fourth and fifth Age, *Amelius*, *Porphyrius*, *Iamblicus*, *Sopater*, *Proclus*, and *Damascus*, who succeeded one another, and

who found new allurements in Philosophy by the kindnesses they received from the Emperors, and especially from *Julian the Apostate*, whose Reign was the more favourable to the *Platonists*, because he had so much a desire to be one: Before he came to be Emperour, he made a Voyage to *Athens*, on purpose to take the Gown of Philosophy, and to be received into their Forms; that he might make a more declared Profession of it; and afterwards being Emperour, he advanced Philosophers to publick Charges, giving them part in his affairs, by making them Governours and Super-intendents in the Provinces.

But

But this great Credit of *Plato* decayed under the Successors of *Julian*, that is to say, under *Arcadius*, *Honorius*, and the two *Theodosius's*; for these Emperours being become Christians, complied with the Opinions of *St. Chrysostome*, *St. Jerome*, and *St. Austin*, who had found out the falsity of that Doctrine. 'Tis true, that some time before the Emperour *Constantine*, in the discourse he made to the Fathers assembled in the *Nicene Council*, praised much the Morals of this Philosopher; and above all, that place where he speaks of reward and punishment to the good and evil after death. Nor was it ever intended utterly to blame all in *Plato*, because there was some danger found in him; which danger never appeared more, then after reflection made on the dreadful Adventures of *Apollonius Thyaneus*, *Plotinus*, *Porphyrius*, *Julian the Apostate*, *Iamblicus*, *Proclus*, and several other *Platonists*, who became either Magicians or Atheists, : *Plotinus* suffering himself to be seduced at *Rome* by an *Egyptian Priest*, began his Witchcrafts in the Temple of *Isis*. *Porphyrius* became a Persecutor of the Church; and *Julian* grew a stricter follower of *Plato* after he had renounced Christianity; for in the foundation of it this Philosophy leads by its doubts, and by incredulity, either to Impiety, or *Pyrrhonisme*. 'Tis said likewise, that *Maximus* of *Ephesus*, who was Master to the Emperour *Julian*, drew

drew him to Paganisme by a secret Philosophy he had learnt of *Iamblicus*: But this *Maximus* became so odious for the abominations of his Philosophy, which was a perfect Magick, that the Emperour *Valentinian* put him to death, as *Socrates* observes in his History. We may find likewise in one of the Epigrams of *Callimachus*, that a certain *Cleombrotus*, a great follower of *Plato*, threw himself down from a Rock out of a desire to dye, which the reading this Philosopher had inspired him with. All these Examples made it appear in effect how dangerous this Philosophy was.

Towards the end of the fifth Age there was in *France* a Bishop of *Vienna* called *Mamercus*, who made head for *Plato*, but it came to no effect. In fine, this Philosophy was almost utterly cast off under the Emperours *Mauritius*, *Phocas*, *Heracitus*, and even to the end of the eighth Age. The incursion of the *Goths* into *Italy* in the time of the Emperour *Anastasius*, the Wars of the *Sarrazens* in *Asia*, the taking of *Alexandria* by the *Mussulmans*, which happened in the Twentieth year of the *Hegira*, and the 642. of our Saviour, the Persecution raised against Philosophers in the year 750. by the Emperour *Leo Isauricus*, who caused his own Master to be burned, and many other Philosophers together with their Books; and other such like disgraces atchieved the final ruine of Study,

Study, and the credit of Philosophy, and brought to nothing the Reputation of *Plato* in those places where he had shone with most glory. The use likewise of the *Greek* Tongue began to be abolished in *Egypt* under the Reign of the *Caliph Valid*, who resided at *Damascus*; this Prince forbidding the *Greeks* to use any other Language save the *Arabick* in publick Acts, which much increased that ignorance which now began to overspread all *Greece* and *Italy*.

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## CHAP.

## CHAP. IV.

*The Adventures of the Sect, and  
Doctrine of Aristotle in the  
Eight first Ages.*

**T**He merit of *Aristotle* began as I have said to be known in *Rome* by the diligence used by *Andronicus*, to restore his writings, and the frequent praises which *Cicero* gave him in divers places of his works; but it must be acknowledged, that it required much time and great light to sound this Abyſſe and to search him to the bottom; because that after all there was in this Author Clouds to disperse, difficulties to clear, and Bryers and Thorns to root out, which was the cause he could not be well understood till after a long time of study, and after having penetrated into his Doctrine with profound meditations. Now follows the progress of the adventures of his Sect, and of his Philosophy.

*Athenodorus* of *Tarsis*, of whom *Plutarch* makes mention, was the first that in the Court of *Augustus*, made known the Categories by that he writ upon them, of which *Simplicius* speaks with much commendation. *Plutarch* says likewise,  
That



That *Nicholas of Damascus*, a great Peripatitian, and much loved of the Emperour, taught him *Aristotle* by the books which he writ of his Doctrine. This Philosopher, saith *Snidas*, made likewise a kind of Cakes of an exquisite tast, which *Augustus* loved exceedingly: These Cakes, sayes he, pleased him better then all the writings of his Master, by which he profited little; that Prince being then affected with nothing but the Verses of *Virgil* and *Horace*. *Strabo* sayes, That in the time of *Augustus* two other Philosophers, named *Zenarchus* and *Athenaus*, both of *Seleucia* came to *Rome* to teach *Aristotles* Philosophy, which *Zenarchus* had before taught at *Athens*, and at *Alexandria*; For all able men came then to *Rome* to make themselves known, as I have before observed. There was not any Philosopher follower of *Aristotle*, who gained any reputation under the Reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula* and *Claudius*.

*Nero* had a Peripatitian for his instructor, called *Alexander of Aegæa*, as *Snidas* sayes; but this Philosopher had not the credit to make the Doctrine of *Aristotle* very considerable in a Court where *Burrus* and *Seneca*, both Stoicks, had so much power: There was likewise one *Adrastus*, who laboured about the writings of *Aristotle*, to arrange the Books in their due place, and put the Chapters in their natural order, but his work is lost. *Sotion*, who was *Seneca's* master, together with *Sofogines*, and *Hermippus*, forsook the Doctrine of *Plato*

to follow that of *Aristotle*: And though the Spirit of intrigue reigned much among people of quality under the succeeding Emperours, yet there was found in the Court

*Ingenium illustre  
altioribus studiis Hel-  
vidius dedit non ut  
pleriq; magnifico Phi-  
losophiae nomine segne  
otium velaret sed quo  
firmior adversus for-  
tuita reipub. cape-  
reſſeret. Tacit. 4.  
Hist.*

of *Vitellius* a man of wisdom, named *Helvidius Priscus*, who applied himself diligently to Philosophy, Not (saith *Tacitus*, with intent to make it a specious pretext for sloth and idleness, as others did, but to strengthen his Soul against the divers events of

of fortune, which the fickleness of Emperours had made very frequent. To this study retired with him *Petus*, and his Son in Law *Thraseas*, who had Souls too great to behold the infamy of the government under which they lived.

*Domitian's* persecuting Philosophers, joyn'd with the scorn thrown on Philosophy it self, now at *Rome*, did much discredit this Study throughout the whole Empire: But its credit began to revive under *Adrian*, and amongst the wise men that had reputation in his Court, among whom *Favonius* the *Peripatetician* was one of the next considerable. *Taurus* of *Berytus* who composed a discourse of the difference between the Philosophy of *Plato*, and that of *Aristotle*, signallized himself in the Court of *Commodus*, and *Alexander* the *Aphrodisiean*, was the first professor of the *Peripatetick* philosophy, established at *Rome* by *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Lucius Verus*, as him-  
self

self bears witness in his Commentaries, this learned man was the first that opened the Carriere, to that multitude of Commentarors on *Aristotle*, which followed him, and likewise the most understanding and clearest of them all. *Galen* Physician to *Marcus Antoninus*, the most gallant and delicate wit, and most knowing man of the Court, addicted himself much to the Doctrine of *Aristotle*; and writ Commentaries full of Learning on the works of that Philosopher. *Alexander* of *Damascus* taught then at *Athens* the Doctrine of *Aristotle*, as *Ammonius Saccas* did at *Alexandria*. The reputation of this *Ammonius*, was great by reason of his extraordinary Genius; and having his Spirit filled with the Doctrine of *Plato*, and that of *Aristotle*, which he had joyned together, he began first of all to set forth a Philosophy framed of the one and the other, which the learned afterwards embraced, as *Plotinus*, *Porphyrius*, *Sipson* of *Alexandria*, his Scholer *Proclus*, whom *Simplicius* calls the Master of his Masters, and after them many more.

In this time which was so fertile in great persons, the depth of the Genius of *Aristotle* began to be known, through the great diligence wherewith the learned applyed themselves to the study of his Doctrine, and to the explaining it by their Commentaries, such were *Aphrodisens* under *Antonine*, *Aspasius* under *Commodus*, *Syrannus* under *Gordian*, *Porphyrius* under *Galiennus*,

and *Aurelian*, *Proclus* under *Julian* the second, *Ammonius* his Scholer, who has writ so well on the book of *The interpretation of Aristotle* under *Valentinian*, *Didimus*, who was the Master of *St. Jerome* under *Gratian*, *Themistius* under *Jovinian* and *Valens*, *St. Augustin* under *Honorius*, *Olympiodorus* under the young *Theodosius*, *Simplicius* and *Philoponus* under *Justin* and *Justinian*, *Beetius* under the Emperour *Anastasius*, and King *Theodoric*, not to speak of *Asclepius*, *Priscian*, *Dixippus*, *Damascius*, and an infinity of others. All these great men, who were the most learned of these first Ages, contributed by their works to the making of the Doctrine of *Aristotle* be understood by the world, which the more it was known, the more it was esteemed. The evil treatment of the Emperour *Caracalla* to the followers of this Philosophy, was not very prejudicial to the Sect, by reason of the slight opinion all the world had of him, having made himself contemptible by his extravagances; for he unjustly put to death *Papinian*, the greatest man of the Empire, and with much brutishness persecuted all virtuous and learned men.

The opinions of the Christians in the three first Ages, were not so favourable to *Aristotle* as to *Plato*; but in progress of time the reputation of *Aristotle* increased so much the more, as men applied themselves to understand him. On the contrary, that of *Plato* decayed upon examination of it. The Truth is, the primitive Fathers

thers at first distrusted *Aristotle* as a Philosopher, who consulted too much with Sense and Reason; they judged his Doctrine improper to Christianity, which required a perfect submission of Reason, too much relied upon by this Philosopher; they thought him too natural, too politick, too refined; in short too much a Philosopher, in-  
somuch that they suffered him not in their Libraries, *Tertullian* accounts of him as of a miserable Sophist, under whom all the enemies of the Faith took up Arms to fight for, and defend error, and believes that it was of his

*Tertul. lib. 1. de præscrip.*

*Videte nequis vos circumveniat per Philosophiam, 2d Coll.*

Doctrine that the Apostle in the Epistle to the *Collossians* advises the faithful to beware, because it was dangerous. This danger might indeed be perceived by the example of the *Theodosians*, under the Emperour *Severus*, who made use of the Method and reasonings of *Aristotle*, to uphold their error. The *Car-*

*pocratians* were condemned for having set up the Image of this Philosopher with that

*Bar. Annal. Eccle. ad annum 110*

*Ibid. ad ann.*

of *Jesus Christ*, and for having adored him out of an extravagant zeal to his Doctrine. The *Ætians* were excommunicated by the Church, and by the *Arians* themselves, from whom they were separated, for teaching their Scholers the Categories of *Aristotle* for Catechisme. The *Antinomians* were

*Euseb. Hist. c. 27.*

ported to such an excess of Impiety, as to bear more respect to this wise Heathen, then to the uncreated wisdom.

*Origine* in his Books against *Celsus*, who from a few turn'd Heathen, begins one of the first among the Christians to cry down *Aristotle* out of the prepossession he had for *Plato*; and because indeed he found too much reason in his Philosophy, his Spirit accustomed to the pleasing and flourishing Air of *Plato*, could not comply with that of *Aristotle*. The most part of the other Fathers entertained his opinion, as *St. Justin* in his Dialogue to *Tryphon*; *St. Clements Alexandrinus*, in his advertisement to the Gentiles; *St. Irenaus*, in his Book against Heretics; *St. Eusebius* in divers places of his works; *St. Athanasius* against *Macedonian*; *St. Basil*, and *St. Gregory of Nice* against *Ennomius*; *St. Gregory Nazianzen* in his twenty sixth and thirty seventh Orations; *St. Epiphanius* in his second Book of Heresies; *Faustin* in his Book against the *Arrians*; *St. Ambrose* in the first book of his Offices; *St. Chrysostome* on the Epistle to the *Romans*; *St. Cyril* against the Emperour *Julian*, and a world of others who found something to say against *Aristotle*, out of the fear they had lest it should imprint in the Christians a Character of his Logick, which is punctilious in all things, and utterly opposite to Faith, which requires only submission: They believed it easie to make an ill use of the Doctrine

doctrine of this Philosopher ; because they had not  
 well comprehended it. *We are called faithful,*  
 said St. Chrysostome, to the end that by  
 contempt of humane reason we may  
 raise our selves to the heights of  
 faith.

Homi. 24 .  
 in Johan.

Yet in the end it was found that this art of  
 reasoning taught by Aristotle, had nothing false  
 in it ; but was indeed very solid, and might be  
 of use in our Religion, the which supernatural  
 as it is, is yet conformant to reason. *Anatolius,*  
 whom *Eusebius* calls the most knowing of his  
 time, and who was afterwards Bishop of *Laodi-*  
*cea*, was the first Christian that taught the Do-  
 ctrine of Aristotle, at *Alexandria*, and who  
 began to make him be understood towards the  
 end of the third Age, under the Empire of *Di-*  
*oclesian* ; the authority of this learned man re-  
 established that of Aristotle in *Egypt*, and  
 and gave him reputation in *Italy*. *Themistius* a  
 famous Peripatetician, and intimate friend to St.  
*Gregory Nazienzen*, not being able to mollifie  
 the Spirit of the Emperour *Valens* towards the  
 Christians, yet added much to the glory of *Ari-*  
*stotle*, under the Empire of *Theodosius*, who did  
 him the honour to trust him, though he were a  
 Heathen with his Son *Arcadi-*  
*us*, during a Voyage he made  
 into *Italy*. St. *Jerome* speaks  
 very favourably of Aristotle  
 in his second book again *Pe-*

*Peripateticorum sen-*  
*tentiæ consentit sanctæ*  
*Scripturæ auctoritas.*  
*Hier.*



*lagius.* St. *Anstin*, who had so piercing a Spirit, would never have thought this Author worth his labour, had he not esteemed him; and in those books he has writ against *Cresconius*, he blames much the Grammarian *Donatistus* for endeavoring to deprive the Church of the use of Logick, so useful for the defence of its truths. *Theodoret* gave great praises to that admirable blind man *Dydimus* of *Alexandria*, one of the most knowing men of his time; because he well understood the Doctrine of *Aristotle*, he extolls him for having so clearly explained him in his Commentaries, made about the end of the fourth Century. *Victorinus* who was one of the Masters of St. *Jerome*, and whom this Father puts in the number of the Ecclesiastical writers, begins to translate into Latine the Introduction of *Porphyrus*, which is necessary for the understanding of the works of *Aristotle*. *Pratextatus* translated into that Language his books of the *Analiticks*,

The Emperour *Theodosius* the younger, who had so great passion for Learning, by report of *Sozomenes*, caused to come from Greece a Peripatetick Philosopher, named *Celsus*, to teach Philosophy at *Rome*, for whom the Emperour had a great consideration, as *Simmachus* in his Epistles assures us; and that Emperour took great care to cause able people to come from *Athens* to instruct the *Roman* youth, and



and to make the love of Learning flourish in his Reign. In fine that illustrious *Roman Severinus Boetius*, who was three times Consul, after having studied the space of eighteen years at *Athens*

the Philosophy of *Aristotle*; and after having more particularly searched into it by private meditation, and long consideration, translated into Latine some works of this Philosopher; and became the first, who made this author be fully understood in the Latine Church, where he was not known but by the noise made by the translations and Commentaries of *Greek* interpreters, his reputation spread in a little time through all *Italy*; so that *Aristotle* began not to be absolutely known in the West, till the sixth Century, and it was to *Boetius*, who had the greatest Genius of his time for Learning, that he owed the Obligation.

But though the labours of *Boetius* might have drawn followers to the Doctrine of *Aristotle* in a time wherein he had exposed it to the world with so much clearness; yet such was the misfortune of the age, turmoiled with the wars of *Italy*, and worse with the ignorance of the Emperours, that even from *Boetius* his time until the end of the Eighth Century, there was none but *St. John Damascenus*, under the Emperour *Croponymus*, who appeared to have any love for

*Inter præcipua negotiorum curatum est ut in erudiendis nobilibus præceptores ex Attica poscerentur. Sym. l. 9. cp. 18.*

for Philosophy; he was a *Syrian* where there was yet some remains of Learning; he addicted himself to the study of *Aristotle*, and abridged his Logick, Morals and other works, but the ignorance and stupidity of that age, and of the following was so great, that they were took for *Necromancers*, those who understood any thing, as *Bellarmin* reports of Pope *Sylvester* the second, who was skilful in Philosophy and Geometry. It appears by all this discourse, That *Aristotle* was but little known to the Greek, and less to the Latine Fathers; and so little use was made of him in matters of Religion in these first Centuries, let us see if he has been more happy in the succeeding ages; and to that end examine what has been the Fortune of *Plato* and *Aristotle* in these latter times.

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## CHAP. V.

*The opinions of the learned  
of these Eight last  
Centuries, on the  
opinions of  
Plato.*

THE sad Estate of *Greece* and *Italy* in these former ages, caused by the terrible revolution of those two Empires, left neither the leisure, nor scarce the liberty to those, who had most desire to learning, to apply themselves to it, and the confusion of the times, begot a confusion in the studies of Philosophy, even where it was professed. *Zonaras* in the third Tome of his History, speaks of a Philosopher, named *Leo*, who in the ninth Century under the Emperour *Michael*, and the Emperess *Theodora* his Mother, grew famous at *Constantinople* by the favour of *Bardas* the Emperours Uncle, who was a lover of Learning. This *Leo* was Bishop of *Thessalonica*, the Emperour best understood his merit by the instant solicitation of the King of the *Sarazens* to send him to him to learn of him the

the Sciences. *Photius*, who was afterwards Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the most learned of his time, was renowned under the same Reign; but neither the Patriarch, nor the Bishop were so much Philosophers, as to addict themselves either to *Plato* or *Aristotle's* Rules. And the love of Learning was utterly extinct among the Ecclesiasticks in the Tenth Century; because the Church enjoyed a profound Peace, and there was nothing to stir up that emulation which begets learned men.

In the end, whether it were the calm in which the Church continued during some following Centuries, which gave more leisure to the Doctors to study the Fathers, and make reflexions upon the opinions they had had of the Doctrine of *Plato*, which had appeared so dangerous; or whether the Genius of those times inclined not men to the study of that Philosophy, it was utterly left off until the fourteenth age, in which the continual wars in the East, the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*, the Council of *Basil*, and that of *Florence* drew into *Italy* the most learned people of *Greece*, who contributed not a little to establish the glory of *Plato*, and the reputation of his Doctrine in the West.

The most considerable of those *Greeks* which came into *Italy* were *John Argyropolis*, to whom the great *Cosmo de Medicis* delivered his two Sons to be educated; *Emmanuel Chrysolors* the  
first

first who re ived in *Italy* the love of Learning; *Theodorus* of *Gaza*, and *George* of *Trebisond*, both *Zealots* for the Doctrine of *Aristotle*; *Bessarion* Arch-Bishop of *Nice*, and Patriarch of *Constantinople*; and *Gemistus Plethon*. *Bessarion*, who always affected the Doctrine of *Plato*, which he preferred before all others; having heard the name of *Aristotl* pronounced with some *Elogies* in the Counsel of *Florence*; and having understood that the most famous Divine in the *Latine* Church *St. Thomas*, had been a Commentator on his Doctrine, seemed much to wonder at it; but he was more surprized when he saw the works of *George* of *Trebisond*, who in a Comparison between *Aristotl* and *Plato*, which he then published, gave all the advantage to *Aristotle*, which obliged this Patriarch to make an *Apology* for *Plato* in that excellent work which he entitles against the *Calumniator*. This great man had induced *John Paleologus* then Emperour of *Constantinople*, to treat of an accommodation with Pope *Eugenius* IV. for the reunion of the *Greek* Church with the *Latine*, and resisted with much zeal and heat the oppositions of *Mark* of *Ephesus*, who withstood the design; for which the Pope made him a Cardinal, and he employed all those advantages his credit had given him to raise the repute of *Plato* in the Court of *Rome*; and in that of *Florence*, which then esteemed Letters and learned men, and was already prepossessed with the merit of *Plato* by *Argyropolis*

But

But nothing so much added to the affection the *Florentine* Prince had for the Philosophy of *Plato*, as the discourse *Gemistus Plethon* made in his presence on that Doctrine. *Marcilius Ficinus* the Son of his Physitian having assisted at one of these discourses at the age of thirteen years, and having appeared much touched with it, as himself acknowledges in his Preface on *Plotinus*, the great *Cosimo* called him his interpreter upon *Plato*, and commanded he should be furnished with the commentaries of *Plotinus* to prepare him for this study; he made him chief of the Academy he then designed for the teaching the Doctrine of *Plato* in that Estate, and ordered him an allowance which was paid from that very year. The love which this Prince and his successors, *Peter*, *John* and *Laurence de Medicis* had for *Plato*; the writings of *Marcilius Ficinus* on the Doctrine of this Philosopher, together with those of Cardinal *Bessarion*, and *Plethon*, which were much esteemed, revived extremely the credit of *Plato* in *Italy*; so that most learned men, who were of any reputation, became *Platonists*; that is to say, *John Calvacante*, *Angelus Politian*; Cardinal *Cusa*; *John Picus de Mirandula*; *Pomponatius*, Professor of *Padua*; *Jerom Fracastor*, a great Poet, famous Physitian, and Pupil to *Pomponacius*, *Cardan*; *Aretine*, *Frederick Duke of Urbin*; *Everard Duke of Wirtenburg*; *James Marronius*, Professor of *Pisa*, who writ both upon *Plato* and *Aristotle*;

Jerome

*Jerome Donatus of Verona*, who published a work of the difference of their Philosophy; *Cremonius*, *Patricius*, and a great number of learned men, who flourished in *Italy* in the fifteenth Century: For as the house of *Medicis* did contribute much to the establishment of Learning, partly by the knowledge of its Princes, and partly by their liberalities to learned men; so the most part of those who applied themselves to it, entertained their opinions, and became favourable to the Doctrine of *Plato*; which was now esteemed so pleasant and agreeable, that it was become the universal study of all ingenious Spirits.

Yet in the end *Marcilius*

*Ficinus* went too far, bewitched with the love he had for this Philosophy; For he too lightly entertained in his head a conception of supporting the sentiments of our faith by the opinions of Philosophy; he said that the Dialogue of *Criton* was a summary of the Gospel;

he undertook to explain by this Doctrine the mystery of the Trinity, that most incomprehensible and inextricable of all our Mysteries; he would reduce by the authority of *Plato* the Spirits of those who resisted the authority of *Jesus Christ*. These excesses made many people perceive

*Reor hoc providentia divina decretum, ut perversa multorum ingenia quæ Soli divini legis auctoritate haud facile cedunt Platonici Saltem rationibus religioni admodum suffragantibus acquiescant. Ficin. præm. ad Plat. Theologiam.*

ceive this Philosophy inclined to infidelisme, since by so feeble authority its professors would undertake to maintain what our Religion has most hard to comprehend. 'Twas this Doctrine likewise that made *Picus Mirandula*, who was so passionate for it fall into error, *Aretine* into libertinisme, *Cremomius*, *Pomponatus*, and others into incredulity. *Cardan* the Physitian of *Pavia*, who had composed a mixt kind of Philosophy of judicial Astrology, and a great ramblement of the ancient Philosophers of all sects, taught under *Leo* the X. that there were certain Spirits in the Air with little bodies subtile and nubilous, which he had learnt from *Plato*, with many other Chimera's, of which *Gaddi* speaks in in his *Libliotheca*, who adds that his opinions concerning the immortality of the Soul were much suspected, and he as wise as he was passed for a visionary in many things. In this manner was this philosophy found, not only vain and dangerous in the evil use might be made of it, without observing necessary Caution, which obliged Cardinal *Bellarmino*, who was one of the most solid Spirits of his time to divert Pope *Clement VIII.* who built the Colledge of *Sapienza* at *Rome*, from founding there a Chair for the teaching the Doctrine of *Plato*. And we find in the *Memoires* of *M Canoye*, that one *Prioli*, a noble *Venetian*, having been sent Ambassador on the part of that Republick, did before his departure desire him to procure a permission from the King for an *Italian Doctor*

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one of his Friends to come and teach at *Paris* the Philosophy of *Plato*, which he well understood, and had long studied; but the King advised by his Counsel of the danger might accrue by the giving too much credit to this Philosophy, would not consent.

Father *Petan*, a Divine of the Society of *Jesus* in the first Chapter of the second Volume of *Diogenes*, sets forth likewise the danger of studying *Plato*, without standing well on ones guard, and to what excesses they are subject, who too much submit their judgments to the opinions of this Philosophy, all which he proves by the writings of the Fathers, and the sad examples of others. But to conclude this part, 'tis apparent, that the Doctrine of *Plato* is very little used in this age, destiny having lock'd it up in the Closets of some declamers, who would grow famous in the Seat of Justice, or at its Bar; For indeed his discourse has much briskness in it, but his giving us only the appearances of truth leaves the Spirits of those that read him in a great incertainty of the things he treats of, and we arrive at nothing solid by his Doctrine, though it still allures and pleases. The only good use can be made of *Plato* is what St. *Austin* did, the reducing of things by their Idea's to form true portraits, *Plato* is useful likewise to give us a flourishing expression proper for those who would be Eloquent, upon whom having nothing farther to observe, I return to *Aristotle*.

His adventures were so very various in these last Centuries, that it will be difficultly apprehended how 'tis possible progress of time, should make such different judgments of the same person; For never was any Philosophy treated with more honour and with more infamy together then that of *Aristotle*, the recital is wonderful. The few learned men that were in the ninth and tenth Centuries, the ignorance of the *Greek* Tongue, the scarcity of good Manuscripts of the Comments made on the works of *Aristotle*, put a great stop to the course of his Doctrine; men would not trust his Interpreters, without consulting the Original Text, besides the subtilty, or rather the profoundness of his Doctrine, his stile hard and concise, which required great attention, diverted many minds from applying themselves to it with a necessary fixation of Spirit. The most understanding themselves imitating the Primitive Fathers, who had neglected him, believed this Philosopher scarce deserved examination; they were distrustful as well as those Fathers, That a Philosophy too much dependant on Nature, Sense and Reason, could be at all useful in Religion; there were likewise halfe witted people, who undertook to declaim against this Philosophy; because they understood it not: Such was the Estate of the Doctrine of *Aristotle* in the Latine Church, which then could not boast of many intelligent persons; Idleness or the calm and quiet they

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they enjoyed, having reduced most of their Spirits. 'Tis true that the simplicity which reigned in that age, especially among the Ecclesiasticks, and in Monasteries, where were the only knowing people, could not comply with the reasonings of *Aristotle*, which seemed to inspire a Spirit of contradiction utterly opposite to the submissions of Faith, which was that obliged *St. Bernard* and *Otto* Bishop of *Frisingia* to declame with so much zeal against *Abailard*, and *Porren-tine* Bishop of *Poitiers*, for having corrupted their minds with a false Logick learnt from the study of *Aristotle*

The *Greeks*, who again flourished in the Eleventh, and some succeeding Centuries had better studied *Aristotle* in those admirable Comments of the first ages, which they diligently read: Their Tongue which was yet preserved in *Constantinople* in despite of the Wars, served them to entertain some converse with *Aristotle* and his Commentators; yet there were but few learned men that addicted themselves to the study of this Philosophy, the most that laboured in it were *Sysinnius*, under the Emperour *Constantine Monomachus*; *Psellus* under *Michael Stratisticus*; *Magentinus* and *Michael of Ephesus*, under or about the Reign of *Isaac Cominenus*; *Nicephorus Blemmydes*, under the Emperour *John Ducas*; *Eustathius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*; and *Michael Paleologus* under *Andronicus Cantacrenes*, who after having thrown off the Im-

perial Purple, became a recluse on Mount *Athos*; *Theodore Metachyta*, *George of Cyprus*, *Chylas* of *Ephesus*, *Daniel Cyrigenes*, *Glycis*, *Georgorias*, *Plamydes*, and others under the succeeding Emperours, who all of them added to the credit of *Aristotle* in the *Greek Church*.

But the reputation of this great man had extended it self with a much louder fame over all *Affrica*, amongst the *Arab's* and *Moors*: For *Mahomet*, who in the seventh Century, had from being got to be general of an Army started up Prophet, and had established a new Religion by Fire and Sword, made way by his Conquests for the love of Learning in Countries where it had been much neglected; a thing ordinarily attending on power and prosperity. The first *Caliph* of his successors, who was observed to have been this way inclined, was *Almanzor*, the Founder of *Bagdat*, of the Family of *Ben-Abbas*, who began to Reign in the 137. year of the *Hegira*; and the 755. of *JESUS CHRIST*, he joyned to the study of the Law, that is to say, the *Alchoran*, which was the only study of his predecessors, that of Philosophy and Astronomy. The *Caliph Abdalla*, who began to Reign in the year 815. sent Ambassadors to the Emperour of *Constantinople*, to request of him some books of the Sciences, which having obtained, he caused to be translated into his own Language, to stir up among the people the love of Learning, these cares were not Fruitless; For his Reign produced

ded many Philosophers, and very able Physicians.

There are some Arab Historians. that affirm, That *Mahomet* forbid by his Law the study of Letters, the better to keep concealed the absurdities of his Religion under that ignorance of which it made profession, but that the *Calyph Almamon*, or *Mamion* revived the love of Learning by occasion of a Ghost appearing to him in the night in the Figure of *Aristotle*, and exciting him to the study of Philosophy. This *Calyph* having overcome the Emperour *Michael*, in the Conditions of peace, demanded the Communication of their Books. It was he, if we may believe *Scaliger*, who caused to be translated into his Language the *Almagest* of *Ptolomy* to teach his Subjects Astronomy,

So that the Sciences which had passed from Greece to Italy, passed from Italy into Affrica, together with Empire, which remained till the year 1258, at which time *Bagdat* was taken by the *Tartars*; but the love of Sciences still continued under the Kings of *Egypt*, *Fez* and *Morocco*; and the ages which were those of Ignorance in Europe, were those of Learning in Affrica and *Egypt*: For in those times there were there bred up a multitude of philosophers, whose Comments much honoured *Aristotles* Doctrine in Affrica, where 'twas before unknown. The most famous of these philosophers were *Alfarabius*, *Algazel*, *Albumazar*, *Mamionides*,

*Alkindus*, *Albafagar*, *Albencini*, or *Averhoes*, *Alfarabius* having found in *Mesopotamia* the Books of *Aristotles* physicks, read them forty times over, and after having so often read them, writ at the end, *That he was ready to read them again.* *Avicenna* and *Averroes* signallized themselves more then others, not only by their Commentaries; but likewise for the affection they made themselves, by their writings appear to have, as as well for the Person as Doctrine of *Aristotle*, by which means they raised him to so much credit, that Universities were founded for teaching the Philosophy of *Aristotle* at *Constantine*, at *Tunis*, at *Tripoly*, at *Fex*, and at *Morocco*. *Picus de Mirandula* assures us, That the *Arabs* had so much esteem for the books of *Aristotle*, when once they understood their true value, that they forsook all others.

Pic. Mir. l. 4.  
de van. doct.

'Tis said that *Avicenna* learnt by heart the Books of *Metaphysicks*, out of the ardent affection he had for those works, which he esteemed the most.

This was the estate wherein these people beheld the Doctrine of *Aristotle* in those Places, where they commanded during the five hundred years they were masters of the world. For they extended their conquest into *Spain*, whither the *Moors* likewise brought in their love to Letters; they Founded a Colledge at *Cordona*, which in succeeding ages grew more famous; and the *Spaniards*

niards brought into *France* the Commentaries of *Avicenna* and *Averroes*, on the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, which was then little known; but by reason of the differing conceits of these latter ages, it found there strange revolutions and adventures as well as in *Italy*.

The Books of *Aristotle* having been brought into *France* about the beginning of the thirteenth Century by the *French*, which took *Constantinople*, his Doctrine was begun to be publickly taught in the University of *Paris*, and continued so for some time; but there happened in that University one of a turbulent Spirit, named *Amaury*, who undertaking to justify his extravagancies by the Principles of *Aristotle* then begun to be taught, and whose Physicks he had read; he was condemned of Heresie by a Council held in the same place, in the year 1209. the Books of *Aristotle* were burnt, and the reading of them forbid upon pain of Excommunication. The truth is, this pretended Doctor did hold strange absurdities; as for Example. That God served for Form to the matter of all natural beings; That this matter being uncreated was Divine, and such like Visions: These errors were imputed to *Aristotle*; he having taken his Principles from him, as they pretended; because they did not yet know him. Afterwards his Metaphysicks were condemned by that assembly of Bishops which was held at *Paris* under *Philip Augustus*; and six years afterwards the Cardinal de St.



*Esienne* being sent into *France* by Pope *Innocent* the Third in quality of Legat, forbade the professors of the University to teach *Physick*, which was confirmed sixteen years afterwards Bull of *Gregory* the Ninth, directed to the University at *Paris*. *Simon* of *Tournay*, a very famous Professor of *Divinity* in the said University; and *Peter* of *Durant*, Master of Arts, were sometime after accused of *Heretic*, for being too much addicted to the opinions of *Aristotle*.

But whilst these disgraces happened to the Doctrine of this great man, there were found at *Paris* three of the ablest Divines of that time, who began to honour him with their works and Comments: *Alexander d'Ales*, *Albert le grand*, and *St. Thomas* his Scholar. *St. John Damascenus*, had first opened the gate to that way they took: For having made a very exact abridgment of the *Logick* and *Morals* of *Aristotle*; he composed a very exact method to put in order that excellent work of *Divinity*, which he has left us in those four books of the *Orthodox Faith*; 'twas in this order and after this model that *Peter Lombard* disposed the opinions of the Fathers upon *Divinity*, near four hundred years after *St. Damascene*, in his book of *Sentences*. A work which *St. Thomas* brought to utmost perfection by following so well that great Original, of which *Damascene*, and the Master of the *Sentences*, had the first pattern from *Aristotle*. But *St. Thomas* undertook to follow their steps without,



without observing their Method ; For he took a very particular way, by which he became the first Founder of the Scholasticks, which were afterwards so much in vogue, and which he (its probable) had at first from the *Arabes* : I presume not to urge a belief of it on my word, It is only a thought which I submit to the judgment of the wise, as a conjecture in which I may be deceived.

I say then, That when *St. Thomas* was born into the world; It was about 400 years that the *Arabes* had been the only learned men which studied Philosophy, whilst it was not above one hundred years that the love of Learning was not revived in *Europe*. Those people, whose Empire was as great as the *Romans*, at least for the extents of their Conquests, which reached from the *Indies* even into *Spain*, imprinted their Genius and their manners, not only in their subjects, but likewise in all people, with whom they had any kind of Commerce, that is to say in all *Europe*; and whilst their studies were confin'd to their Religion, the Mathematicks and Philosophy, and that they knew neither Eloquence nor curious Arts; Painting and Ingraving being by their Law forbid them. It need not be admired, if by the undisturbed contemplations of their minds naturally reflexive, they became so speculative, and so knowing in the Metaphysicks, or that they so much refined themselves by Logick and Physick, which was their ordinary study, and to which their nature most excited them.

So

So that after three hundred years spent in the study and interpretation of *Aristotle*, they had made that study and their Commentaries necessary to the Christians, who began to study in the West, when Letters were re-established towards the end of the Twelfth Century, at which time *Bagdat* was taken by the Tartars. The *Arabes* being then the only knowing men of that time, and having gained a great authority over Learning, had established in the Schools their manners of teaching; *St. Thomas* finding no other, took them, and was afterwards followed by the Scholasticks. Thus those barbarous terms made use of in late Philosophy without scruple, were taken from *Avicenna*, and the other *Arabes*, to whom those manners were without doubt natural and familiar; and these terms by traduction, became from good *Arab*, which its possible they were to be very wicked *Latins*. It is without doubt in this manner this Philosophy was corrupted by the Commerce with those that were then Masters of it: It is likewise to be believed, that if *St. Thomas* had known some other way of teaching Philosophy, that he had yet reason to follow what he had taken from the *Arabs*, to confound their pride, and make them see that the Catholick Religion might easily be defended from their Calumnies, even in their own way of teaching and following their *Aristotle*, to whom they were so strangely affected; it is possible likewise that this ill smack of the *Arabs*, who  
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were little masters of speech, may creep into the Schools of *Europe*, as that of the *Goths* has crept into Architecture and other Arts.

It is likewise observed, that these people addicted themselves to the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, rather than that of *Plato*; because they found the former better established than the latter among the *Greeks*, from whom they received the Sciences, as appears from *John Damascene*, who was the first Christian Philosopher that lived under the Government of the *Mussulmans*; besides that the Genius of the *Arabes*, contributed much to make them prefer *Aristotle* before *Plato*; the lofty and eloquent air of the last relishing less with them than the concise stile, and solid reasonings of the other, but these are all but conjectures; yet if I appear too conceited in them, I could possibly give some value to them from the authority of *St. Thomas*, and all the most judicious Philosophers, who have much complained that the *Arabs* had corrupted Philosophy. In sum, those hands by which *Aristotle* came into *Europe*, were not very clean; because those people did not well understand the *Greek* Tongue. But I return to the adventures of *Aristotle* in the University of *Paris*.

There was a new reformation begun in the year 1366. by the Cardinal *St. Mark* and *St. Martin*, Commissionated by Pope *Urban* the fifth, for the re-establishing in *France* the Doctrines

*Strine of Aristotle.* It was commanded by this reformation, That none should be admitted Masters of Arts, who had not first been examined by *Aristotles* books of Logick, Metaphysicks, Physicks, and of the Soul. The Cardinal *d' Etouteville* was in 1466. deputed by *Charles* the seventh to see these Rules observed, which had for some time been much neglected, who commanded they should study *Aristotle* more diligently then they had done to revive the splendor of the University of *Paris*, which began to be obscured by this negligence.

In the year 1447. Pope *Nicholas V.* who was the restorer of Sciences in *Italy*, commanded the most able people of his time to make a new translation of the works of *Aristotle*, for the use of the Theologists of the *Roman Church*. His Secretary *George of Trabison* a knowing *Peripatetician*, laboured hard in it; after having signalized himself under the name of *Theodorus of Thessalonica* in the disputes he had upon *Plato* and *Aristotle*, against the Cardinal *Bessarion*, and *Gemistus Plethon*. *Alphonfus* of Arragon, one of the most learned princes that ever was, having begun to understand the merit of *Aristotle* by commerce with his Commentators *Moors and Arabs*, and above all the reading of *Averroes*, instantly intreated the Cardinal *Bessarion* to translate the Metaphysicks of this Philosopher, which he did with good success. And Pope *John* the XXII. who Canonized St.

Thomas

*Thomas*, and his Doctrine exalted the renown of *Aristotle*, whose Principles this Doctor of the Church had entertained. In fine his reputation became so universal throughout the world, that his Philosophy began to pass every where for the Rule and Model of all Philosophers.

But towards the end of the Fourteenth Century it was very much refined by that furious emulation formed upon the Doctrine of *Aristotle*, between the *Nominals* and *Realists*, and between the *Thomists* and the *Scotists*, who had among themselves great contestations; but who both withstood the *Nominals*. These disputes divided in such manner all the Universities of *Europe*, that that solid Character which was the Character of *Aristotle*, was almost vanished into Air by those subtilties which these Spirits had conceived in their heads, and which in the pursuit corrupted by the confusion of their Ideas and reflexions, the purity of the Doctrine of Philosophy. The main seat of War between the Scholars of *St. Thomas* and those of *Scotus*, was *The univocation of the being*; and the principal subject of the disputes between the *Nominals* and the *Realists*, was *The distinction of formalities*, which those pretended to be only purely Intellectual, and these would have to be real. Every one took his part in these Sects, and in those which were formed soon after from the Doctrine of *Aristotle*, according to the engagement of Interest inclination or passion, and sometimes of the habit  
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he wore, those who were free followed the universal humour of the age in which they lived; but there came forth now such an inundation of writings upon Philosophy, that *Patricius a Venetian* Philosopher affirms, That there was counted in his time more then twelve thousand Volumes on the Philosophy of *Aristotle* only; so fierce was the itch of writing upon, and refining the great matter grown; and that passion appeared chiefly in the heat and emulation which was bred between the Scholars of *St. Thomas* and *Scotus*, and between the followers of *Biel*, *Occam*, and *George of Arimini*.

And so high was this animosity carried through the liberty of permitting all things to the imagination of those that had the art of subtilizing, that the Doctrine of *Aristotle* was confounded among all these parties, and the tumult that was raised in the Schools (which rung with his name) served only to drown his own voice that it could now almost be scarce distinguished, so much was it stifled by those *Entities of the mean*, those *distinctions of place intern and extern*, that *predetermination of Physick*, those *precisions*, those *reflex intentions*, that *univocation of the being*, those *entitative parts*, that *eduction of Material forms*; and all those Models of modern Philosophy. This Philosophy was scarce now any more to be known; for the idleness of the Age, the ill humour that Reigned by the ignorance of good Letters, and the excessive fancy of disputing

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had left the Reins so loose to those vain subtilties, that Philosophy lost thereby almost all its credit and reputation, whilst by these subtilties they less sought out truth then ostentation, and seem'd possessed with a certain Spirit of contradiction, which is the ordinary Character of vanity; and as nothing more corrupted the ancient Philosophy then the false subtilties of *Crysippus*, with which he embroyled it; so nothing more prejudiced the true Philosophy then the refinement of some Moderns upon certain matter, become famous in the Schools only for their novelty. Thus the disordered passion which all men had for *Aristotle*, every one striving to have him of his side, and force him to his party, was none of his least persecutions.

Yet after all, the reputation of this Philosopher was so firmly established in the University of *Paris*; and his authority was grown so great, that they could not suffer the boldness of a Professor of that University called *Ramus*; who thinking to make himself accounted a fine Fellow by some new subtilties in Logick, caused some observations to be Printed upon the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, to lessen his credit; the noise of which being spread in the Schools, *Ramus* was accused by the other professors, and by Letters patents of King *Francis* the first, was condemned in the year 1542. for ignorant rash and impudent, in daring to write against *Aristotle* to overthrow the orders established in the University,



versity, where no other Doctrine was taught but that of this Philosopher. *Peter Galand*, and *James Carpenter*, two at that time of the most learned of the University, writ against him in defence of *Aristotle*.

But nothing did more honour to the Doctrine of this great Man in the past age, then the severe Investives of *Luther*, *Melancthon*, *Bucer*, *Calvin*, *Posse*, and *Paul Sarpy*, and all those who in that time writ against the Church of *Rome*; who onely complained of *Aristotle*, because the Solidity of his Method gave a great advantage to the Catholicks to discover the cheats and artifices of false Reasonings, with which Heresie serves it self to disguise lying, and destroy truth. \*Twas found in effect, that of all the Philosophers *Aristotle* was the most proper to maintain by Rationality the truth of our Religion, which has always been so conformable to true Reason. This was the motive which obliged the Doctors of the University of *Paris*, to make in the year 1611. a new Rule, commanding all Professors to teach the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, and setting down the method of teaching beneficially.

In fine, the Parliament of *Paris* gave sentence in the year 1624. upon the request of the Faculty, against the *Theses* proposed by some particular persons contrary to the Doctrine of *Aristotle*; and the same Parliament in the year 1629. gave Sentence against some extravagant Chymists, (upon the Remonstrances of the *Sorbone*)

who



who held, that to oppose the Principles of *Aristotle's* Philosophy, was to oppose those of Scholastick Divinity received in our Church.

Such was then in *France* the Reputation of this Philosophy, which was likewise already established in all the Universities of *Europe*, where no other Philosophy is at present taught then that of *Aristotle*. This universal consent of all Nations to esteem him, is a great distinction of his merit; for there is none at present owned but he in the Universities of *Italy, Germany, England, Poland, Spain, Portugal, France, & the Low-Countries*. In short, to finish this Discourse, It may be averred, that the value wherein the Doctrine of this great man has been in these last ages, has been the Standard to rate the knowledge of the times by; his worth has been best known, when there was wit enough to understand him, or a strength and perseverance sufficient to apply to, and continue the study of him; and those Ages have been most learned, wherein he has been best known. 'Tis true, there have been some particular persons in these latter times that have spoken things little favourable of him; and among others, *Picus Mirandula* in his Book of the Vanity of Sciences, *Patricius* in his Discussions, *Vives* in the causes of the Corruption of Arts, *Bodin* in his Republicks, *Bacon, Galilaus*, and *Gassendus* in their Treatises of Philosophy: But it is to be observed; that they were onely people who

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had entertained a conceit to make themselves heads of parties, as well as *Hobbs*, *Digby*, and *Des Cartes*, who have huddled together old fragments of the Philosophy of *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, *Nicetas*, *Seleucus*, and some other Ancients, to make themselves Authors of a new Philosophy, which they could not establish but by the destruction of *Aristotle's*, the most renowned of all.

We have seen the Rise of these Philosophers, and we shall see their Fall: It is true, that *Des Cartes* is become the most considerable by the merit and quality of some persons who have honoured him with their protection, which we ought to respect. But it ought not therefore to be suffered that some fresh-men in Learning of that party, well satisfied with themselves to have soon attained to some principles of this Philosophy, which easily invades the sense of mean capacities, should think themselves therefore authorized enough to treat *Aristotle* as a Wretch in Logick, and one that deserved their pity. *Causabon*, who was one

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μηνεύοντες *Aristot.* in  
notis *Causab.* in  
*Laer.*

of the greatest Criticks of this Age, observes on his Notes on *Diogenes Laertius*, that never any but Sophists, and half-witted people talked ill of *Aristotle*; and he authorizes his opinion by that of an ancient Philosopher, who had said the same thing by the Sophists and Dunces of his time;

time: And indeed he is a depth unfathomable for mean spirits, not to be considered in cold blood without trembling. *Themistius* assures us, that it is impossible to understand or explain *Aristotle* well, without having received from him a portion of his spirit and judgment, to the end to fix ones mind to the reason, without the prepossession of any particular opinion. Which may serve as a rule to those who concern themselves to be deciders of his Merit and Doctrine, without understanding what it is, or knowing this Philosopher by himself.

In all which I cannot forbear to lament his misfortune, for the injury he has done him; for he is not ordinarily read but by his Interpreters, of which the most part make discourse of the matters of which he treats, without duly considering his words, like *Eudæmus* the *Rhodian*; others have explained him by Abridgments and epitomies, as *St. Damascene*, *Pfellus*, and *Pachymeres*; others have made Paraphrases on his Text, as the *Arabs*, and several other Commentators. The variety of these manners of interpreting him has caused that diversitie of strange opinions they impute to him, and created that confusion found among the most part of his followers, who know no more the true *Aristotle*, among those many Explications by which his Doctrine is so much disguised, and amongst the different Interpretations with which his Text has been corrupted by the Commentators of la-

ter time. And it may be affirmed almost to a certitude, that nothing has so much authorized the New Opinions, as that scurvy manner of retailing\* the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, of late used by some Speculative Pretenders, to be the most devout followers of his Doctrine. It is likewise probable that men had not so much run after Modern Philosophy, but out of the little satisfaction they found in that taught at present under the name of *Aristotle*; which disorder continues, because the most part of those that teach, copy one from the other, without going to the Spring, and fetching his Doctrine from its Fountain.

But though it seems in vain to oppose these Disorders, which are so firmly rooted by the evil humours and fancies of the past age; and that the natural laziness of the *Spaniards* joyned with their flegm, has authorized them by their too strait-laced, and too Metaphysical Speculations; yet I will be bold to say, that it were to be wished *Aristotles* Doctrine were established in its purity; and that those who have a zeal for his Philosophy, would take the pains to study it in its simplicity as it is writ by himself, or as it is explained by his Primitive Commentators: For by this means they might understand the true thoughts of this Philosopher without mistaking him, and distinguish his *Dogma's* from his Problems, and his Decisions from his Doubts without confounding them. It will be found possibly

possibly when reflection shall be made, that all these Distinctions purely intellectual, these Formalities, and these Precisions introduced in the Schools, are not at all conformable to the Doctrine of Aristotle, since himself makes them pass in several places of his Metaphysicks for the refinements of Sophists.

For it belongs, says he, only to the Sophists to examine of Coriscus, and Coriscus the Fidler be the same man or no. He repeats the same thing in divers other places of his Metaphysicks;

by which it appears how much he shuns those hollow imaginations whereon the Sophists ground their most ordinary and most solid imaginations:

For which Lucian cruelly scoffs at the Philosophers of his time, who busie them-

selves with baubles, disputing words and names, rather than things; and leaving the kernel, content themselves with the shell. 'Tis true, that by mixing these Metaphysical Disputes somewhat too indifferently in Morality and Divinity, those Sciences are corrupted, which are not receptible of them by reason of their natural solidity and simplicity.

Before I conclude, I cannot pass by some things wherewith Aristotle is reproched, and against which it would not be hard to justify him.

Οἱ σοφιστῶν λόγοι  
περὶ τὸ συμβεβηκός  
μέγιστα πάντων πότι-  
ρον ἔπεον ἢ ταυτὸν  
μουσικός Κορίσκος καὶ  
Κορίσκος. Metaph. l. 6.  
c. 2.

Lucian in Hermo-  
timo.

I readily agree, that he is not infallible, being a man as others are. I acknowledge likewise that he is mistaken in many things; but I cannot but wonder that many worthy men, as *Picm Mirandula*, *Patricius*, *Gassendus*, and such others, should reproch him with toys, as that he has committed gross Errours in Geometry, Astronomy, Meteors, and the History of Animals. 'Tis true, that he believed the world more elevated towards the North then elsewhere: That the *Danube* had its Spring among the *Pyrenean* Hills: That there was no Arteries in the Waste, or middle of man; and that the Heart was the

*Galen de utilit.  
respir.*

principle of the Sinews, and not the Brain, as *Galen* reproches him.

In short, he is deceived in many things, and all the greatest men of the world have been decived as well as he; but the respect we ought to bear to the greatness of their *Genius* should make us forbear twatling on every little fault, since these faults themselves made in small matters, are often the marks of the application they had to things more great and essential: And besides, 'tis most certain, that in progress of time Mathematical Instruments for observation of the Stars, Microscopes, Chimistry, the frequent dissections of Animals, to know the dispositions of things, and several other modern Arts, have contributed much to discover those Secrets of Nature which *Aristotle* could not know; and he ought to have justice done him,  
if

if he were ignorant of these Secrets for want of fit aids. If *Ptolomy*, *Julius Caesar*, *Sesigenes*, *Clavius*, and some Moderns have found in the train of time some errors in the Computations the ancient Astronomers made of the Course of the Sun, Moon, and other Stars, in which we are deceived so little, why should it be any wonder if Experience has discovered Faults in *Aristotle*, in those matters in which we are daily deceived, by reason of the uncertainty of their Foundations.

But there are other more essential faults with which he is reproched; as the Impossibility of the Creation, by maintaining that Principle, *That nothing can be made out of nothing*; That the World is eternal; That the Providence of God is so confined to Cælestial, that it extends not to Sublunary things; That the Matter has a desire and natural impulsion to perfect it self into Form; and in short, that imagination of the education of material Forms from the Matter, which is so incomprehensible to all Physicians. But it would be no hard matter to answer all these reproches made somewhat unjustly against *Aristotle*, if it were ones business to make him pass for irrefragable; which I pretend not to do. For first, for that Principle destructive to the Creation; It is evident, that *Aristotle* believed it no farther, then for the ordinary Generation of Natural Beings. Secondly, for the Eternity of the World, it is very probable he believed it not in the utmost

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sense,



sense, since he lays down a Problem in his Topics; where, if he taught it, he must mistake himself about the Eternity of the Heavens, which he proves by their incorruptibility, not having then known any corruptible qualities, which he found out afterwards. In the third place; If he did not believe Providence to be such, as in effect it is, it is not to be admired, not having the blessing of Faith, without which we can neither speak nor think well as we ought to do of God; for the desire the matter has to perfection, we ought not to attribute to *Aristotle*, that which his Commentators make him to speak, sometimes too high, and sometimes too low: 'Tis but too well known, that the *Arabs* began first to corrupt his Doctrine by false Explications, which may likewise be understood by the eduction of Forms from the Matter, which is imputed to *Aristotle*; of which he thought no more, then of the Physical Promotion in things Moral, though he believed it necessary (as in effect it is) in Physick. There are many things to be said of this great man, which I am constrained to omit; because I would conclude, and see, after all, what benefit may be reaped from all this great Discourse, by the following Reflections.



## CHAP. VI.

*Some Christian Reflections on this Discourse.*

1. **I**T will sure be no hard matter to believe after all I have said, That humane Reason never appeared in so much natural force and vigour, as in *Plato* and *Aristotle*: Most certain it is, that they had so far dived by the power of their spirits, into the most impenetrable Abyss of Nature, that scarce any thing seems to have escaped their view. Why then should we with such curiosity brand the falseness of their Lights, and Wandrings of their Conduct? A thousand ages, and a thousand lives will never produce any thing approaching to the exrent of their almost immense capacities: And yet since they are mistaken in many things, is it not a horrible presumption in meaner spirits to believe that they are not capable of error? Can any behold the defaults of that reason which appeared so sublime in these great men, and not be distrustful of their own?

2. Nothing can make us better comprehend the weakness of mans spirit, then what we read  
of

of the *Egyptians*, they were the wisest, the most enlightened, and most intelligent of all people; the whole world paid homage to their knowledge; and whoever had a desire to learn, went into *Egypt* to be instructed. The *Greeks* commenced in knowledge by conferences with these people. They had likewise such great Souls, such vaste designs, and such unlimited thoughts, that their Kings erected Buildings of a Magnificence surpassing all that the rest of the world had seen. One of their Princes caused a *Pyramide* to be built near *Memphis*, at which he had continually at work Three hundred thousand men for Twenty years together. And yet with all these Lights which filled the spirits of these people with all this Sublimity of Soul, to what strange extravagancies of Superstition suffered they themselves to be transported in matters of Religion, abasing themselves to a gross Worship of the most ridiculous Divinities that can be imagined? So true it is, that Reason alone is not to be listened to in the Concerns of God, and Religion.

3. The Purity and Delicacy of our Faith is so great, that it will not suffer its Lights to be mixed with those of Reason. *Origen* became a Heretick, by being too resolute in maintaining the Doctrine of *JESUS CHRIST* by the Philosophy of *Plato*; and *Tertullian* fell not into the Error of the *Montanists*, but by too great addiction to the Morals of the *Stoicks*, which

which inspired him with that spirit of Severity that lost him. This was that which rendred the Philosophy of *Plato* and *Aristotle* so much suspected to the Primitive Christians, by reason of the disorders they caused in those too much affected them. There is required in a Christian Humility and Submission, and profane Philosophy inspires onely Pride and Presumption. Nor could our Religion be Supernatural as it is, were it capable of becoming subject to the Lights of Reason.

4. If the Principles of Heathen Philosophy clear and enlightened as it was, yet appeared too feeble to enter into any commerce with the Lights of Faith, what judgement should we make of those shallow spirits, who thrust themselves into all disputes, e're they have yet begun to understand what true reason is. There required a long tract of Ages to rectifie by many trials and proofs the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, e're it could be made indirectly serviceable to our Faith; yet a Libertine scarce peep out of the Egg-shell, and who has seen almost nothing, shall have the insolence to subject to his weak sense whatever is most mysterious and incomprehensible in our Religion.

5. All the wisest among the antient Philosophers have believed they knew nothing: In

*Omnes veteres nihil cognosce, nihil percipi, nihil sciri posse dixerunt angustos sensus, imbecillos animos, brevia curricula vite, &c. Cic quest. academic. l. 1.*

summe,

summe, the uncertainty of the Senses which are such deceivers, the natural obscurities of the Heart of man, the weakness of his Spirit, Education, Custom, Opinion, the tumult of ordinary Passions, and those prepossessions no power can surmount, have so utterly effaced all those footsteps of Truth which remained in man, that the most common Secrets of Nature appear inconceivable to the most wise and knowing. The Spiders Web confounds us, the Art of a Silk-worm or Bee surpasses us; a Fly, an Ant, are Mysteries to our ignorance; and indeed the Spirit of man knows nothing perfectly of the most minute things that can be known in Nature, yet he has the presumption to lift himself up to Heaven, and raise himself a Tribunal above the Tribunal of the Eternal God, to pierce into his Secrets, and judge what is most hard to be comprehended in his nature.

*Non decet humano judicio divina pensitari. Tertul:*

6. We can see nothing certain in things most exposed to our view; we cannot say precisely,

*Quod est ante pedes nemo videt, & cœli scrutamur plagas. Ex Pacuvio.*

whether the Earth on which we walk moves under our feet; or whether the Heavens move over our heads. After so many Books writ on this Subject,

and almost Two thousand years Dispute, it cannot be determined; yet we pretend to know what is most concealed from us, and inaccessible

to

to our Souls : One man cannot judge of the thoughts of another man without mistake ; yet he thinks to judge of those of God, and dive into his Secrets without deception. We permit our selves to be surprized in all the judgements we make of things ; Fear, Desire, Inclination, Interest, prevent or draw us on ; and our Senses themselves are so subject to cheat themselves in things most sensible, that sure we cannot trust them in things that are not so, without being extravagant.

7. Of all Natural Truths, the most profound one that is engraven in the heart of man, is the Existence of a God, whatever shews it self to our sight, perswades us to it ; there is nothing in Morality wherein we find so great an agreement of opinions ; all times, all Nations, all Schools submit to it. *Plato* and *Aristotle* the most profound of all the Philosophers, could spy out this Truth in the midst of Heathen darkness ; both the one and the other have given those Demonstrations of it which have been received by all posterity. *Plato* has proved the Existence of a Sovereign Being by the Idea of the Framer of the World, which is the work of an Intelligence ; as one may prove the Existence of an Architect by the Palace he has built. And *Aristotle* proves a God by the necessity of a first Mover : 'Tis the most evident of all the Demonstrations *Avicenna* found in *Aristotle*, which he begins (as he pretends) at the end of the Eighth

Book of his Physick, and concludes at the end of the Twelfth Book of his Metaphysicks. The greatest Genius's of Antiquity, *Pythagoras, Hippocrates, Socrates, Theophrastus, Galen*, who had studied Nature with an extream diligence, could not comprehend the order and œconomy of humane things without comprehending a God. In fine, that Unity of an Infinity of solid Reasons sustaining one the other; the Purity of Christian Morals, the depth of our Mysteries, the Holiness of our Ceremonies, the Holy Scriptures, the Accomplishment of all the Prophecies in the Old Testament, the Blood of the Martyrs, the Succession of *St. Peter*, the Consent of all wise and knowing men that ever lived, confirm this Truth; uncontradicted by any, but Spirits corrupted by Sensuality, Presumption, and Ignorance.

8: This Truth appears yet more evident by the extravagance of the belief opposed to it. There is nothing more monstrous in nature then Atheism; 'tis a disorder of spirit conceived in Libertinisme: No wise well ordered reasonable man did ever doubt of Religion, It must be some shallow Spirit blown up with the success of some Sonnet, or Madrigal, that has found applause in the world. It must be some Debauch, who has never had his head free, nor his mind undisturbed to judge wholesomely of any thing. It must be some Courtier, who has never studied the bottom of any thing, and knows only  
some

some few Chapters of *Montague*, or some few Periods of *Charron*. It must be some false pretender to Wisdom, who has neither Prudence, nor Conduct, but clothes himself in appearances, and perfectly acts the Comedy. It must be some Woman drunk with her merit and beauty, and abandoned to her pleasure, who has no Soul, but what was nurtured in Libertinisme. In short, whatever there is of corrupt manners, whatever there is of weakness of reason, whatever there is of disorder of mind in the world, resists what Faith teaches us of God, and his Existence, whilst Honesty, sound Sense, and Equity, and Solidity of Judgement submit to this belief. And is there any appearance, that those who have their minds disordered, and their hearts corrupt, should be more intelligent, and enlightened in matters of Religion, than those whose manners are most holy, and unrepachable.

9. Man of himself is but weakness and ignorance; the Libertine is more ignorant and weak than other men, because he is more passionate, and less intent. Religion is of its nature, and by its Character something obscure and concealed. These are three Reasons sufficient to suppress the rashness of impious judgements, or at least to suspend their precipitation or levity.

*Est in ipsis rebus  
obscuritas, & in ju-  
diciis nostris infirmi-  
tas. Cic. quest.  
Acad 14.*



10. 'Tis true, 'tis one of the insolencies of humane Spirits, rather to deny what they comprehend not, then to acknowledge with submission and modesty what they are ignorant of. But what would become of all natural Truths, which are to us inconceivable, if what is incomprehensible is not true? And certainly this incredulity is rather an effect of the vanity of man, then of his weakness or ignorance; and that vanity overturns his brains and his sense, and makes the Libertine believe he does a noble act, when he condemns what others approve: And as soon as he has the whim in his head, that 'tis a shame to believe without dispute, he easily imagines that it is a witty and a pleasant thing, rudely to deny what all the world believes.

11. Man, though so free, so independent, so fierce, finds always in the bottom of his soul such a natural aptitude, and strong inclination to acknowledge above himself a Sovereign Being, and to depend thereon; that he choseth rather to frame to himself ridiculous and impertinent Gods, when he wants Light, enough to find the true one; then to live without such a dependance: He abases himself to the adoring of Beasts, he that is their Master; and under them acknowledges a Conferrer of good, a shadow of the Divinity. This so general consent of all people, of whom none were ever found without the belief of a God, is an instinct of Nature, which cannot be false, being so universal;



sal; and it would be a madness then to hearken to the wild judgements of two or three Libertines at most, who in each age have denied the Divinity, thinking to quiet their spirits in their disorders.

12. Is it to be believed, that a Judgment so Catholick, and so strongly imprinted by Nature, can be an Illusion? Are those Terrours which torment the Consciences of wicked men; those tremblings and fears which accompany crimes; that holy horror we feel when we approach any place where there is but the least foot-step of Sanctity; those tender, yet lively comforts good Souls feel in the practice of virtue: Are all these vain Images, and onely pure effects of imagination? The pleasure we found in doing our duties, is it a false pleasure? And the joy of a good Conscience, is it a false joy?

13. What can a Libertine oppose against the general consent of all times, and all Nations to ballance this belief? What reason evident enough can he have to the contrary? He, all whose reason to sustain his Impiety, is onely a pure doubt ordinarily conceived in his debauches; and all whose disputes can at best reach but to a confused huddle of Idea's, utterly insupportable to a man of sound sense: For when men will be obstinate not to believe what seems credible to all others, they sometimes engage themselves to believe the most incredible things in the world; for the Heart and Soul of man are no longer sen-

sible of any thing, when they once grow insensible of this general impression which the belief of a God has made on our nature; nor can this impression be false, as I have already said, since it is imprinted on all the world.

14. The greatest honour man can render to God, is to submit his Soul under the feet of his Authority, believing what he has said, because he has said it; all the glory we can give him, is contained in this submission, which bears the character of the greatest respect of man to God-ward. 'Twas thus the Schollars of *Pythagorus* honoured their Master, they received his Answers for Decisions, and there was no more doubt when he had spoken. If we were Christians, as the Scholars of *Pythagoras* were *Pythagoreans*, who not onely believed with perfect submission what their Master said, but even burnt themselves with him, we should certainly be better men then we are: And surely *JESUS CHRIST* has deserved better from us, then *Pythagoras* from his Scholars.

15. When this bar of Faith is broken, the spirit of man has no more bounds to stop him; 'tis faith alone can fix the natural storms of his Curiosity: On what Principle can he found his Manners, when that is overthrown? All the Lights he can draw from Experience, Custom, Education, and Natural Science, will prove vain; his knowledge will serve onely to perplex him the more; and though he craved nothing else  
but

but to be reasonable, unless Reason be submitted to Faith, Reason will be less listened to than Sensuality and Passion.

16. The Philosophers, especially the Naturalists, Chymists, Geometricians, and Physicians, by accustoming their Spirits too much to knowledges palpable, sensible, and evident, have made them very unfit for the Submissions of Faith. We grow corrupt by Philosophy, when we reason too much, and raise Disputes on all things.

17. We ought to know how to distinguish the knowledge of things by their Principles; that is to say, to know Sensible things by Sense, Intellectuals by Reason, and Supernatural and Divine things by Faith. These Rules cannot be confounded without begetting disorder; and that confusion is the Fountain of Libertinisme. We must apply the rule of Sense to things purely of Reason; and the rule of Reason to things purely of Faith. *Plato* confounds not these Rules, as appears in his *Timæus*, where he says; *That we ought not to dispute of matters concerning God, but believe them.* We can never be deceived, when we make not a false use of these Principles; which we must necessarily observe, when we will judge wholesomely of things, and speak truly.

18. That calming of the passions, that tranquility of desires, and that undisturbed peace of the Wise man, which the Heathens have vainly sought, cannot be found but in the Christians

Morals. That uprightness it teaches bath something so sound and solid; That if it be true, That Equity is better then Injustice, Faithfulness then Perfidiousness, Good manners then perverse and wicked, as it is as true as that one and one are two; the Christian Religion, which makes Profession of all these Virtues, and condemns all these Vices more then any other Religion, is likewise the most solid, most perfect, and most true of all Religions.

19. Our Religion complies better with the Philosophy of *Aristotle* then the others, because it is the most reasonable; whence it appears, that our Belief is true Wisdom; since it is not onely perfectly conformable to Reason, but can likewise accommodate it self to the most Excellent of all humane Wisdom, which is the Philosophy of *Aristotle*.

20. *Plato* laid down the Pattern of a Government, the most perfect in Idea, and the most accomplished that ever was; but this Pattern was never followed by any, nor could the Idea of this admirable Policy ever be made practicable: Whilst the Disciples of *JESUS CHRIST*, who were people without Learning, without Power, without Authority, have overthrowne *Athens*, and *Rome*, and all the world has believed them; They settled a new Religion, for which so many Martyrs shed their Blood, and which has been embraced by all the Earth, though at first it appeared so opposite to Sense and worldly Policy.

21. In the Profession to be made, or which ought to be made of Philosophy, there are two extremities to be avoided; the one of taking any party, and the other of taking indifferently all sorts of parties; Both are equally blameable; 'Tis an inconvenience to addict ones self to one Philosophy, and to follow one Opinion either by hazard, or engagement of life, or for the habit we wear, or for the Cabal of which we are, because this is to apply ones self to Reason not for its own sake, but for the colour or figure under which it appears. We expose ourselves by such conduct to the scoffs Cicero makes of the Philosophers of his time,

*who addicted themselves, says he, as the party or the matter carried them, as after a ship-wrack men lay hold on that rock whither the storm drives them:*

*Ad quamcumque disciplinam velut tempestate dilati, ad eam tanquam ad saxum adhaerescunt. Cic. quest. Acad. l. 4.*

But there is danger not to fix to some opinion, either for hardness of belief, or niceness of spirit; because to fix to nothing is a disposition of doubting all. 'Tis for this reason, that the most extravagant of all Philosophers are the *Pyrrhonists*, and the *Scepticks*, who out of a sottish vanity they boast of believing nothing; and out of a ridiculous error of mind, chose rather to wander from opinion to opinion, then stay at any thing real and solid.

23. That Philosophy which helps not a man to become reasonable, is a false Philosophy; and that

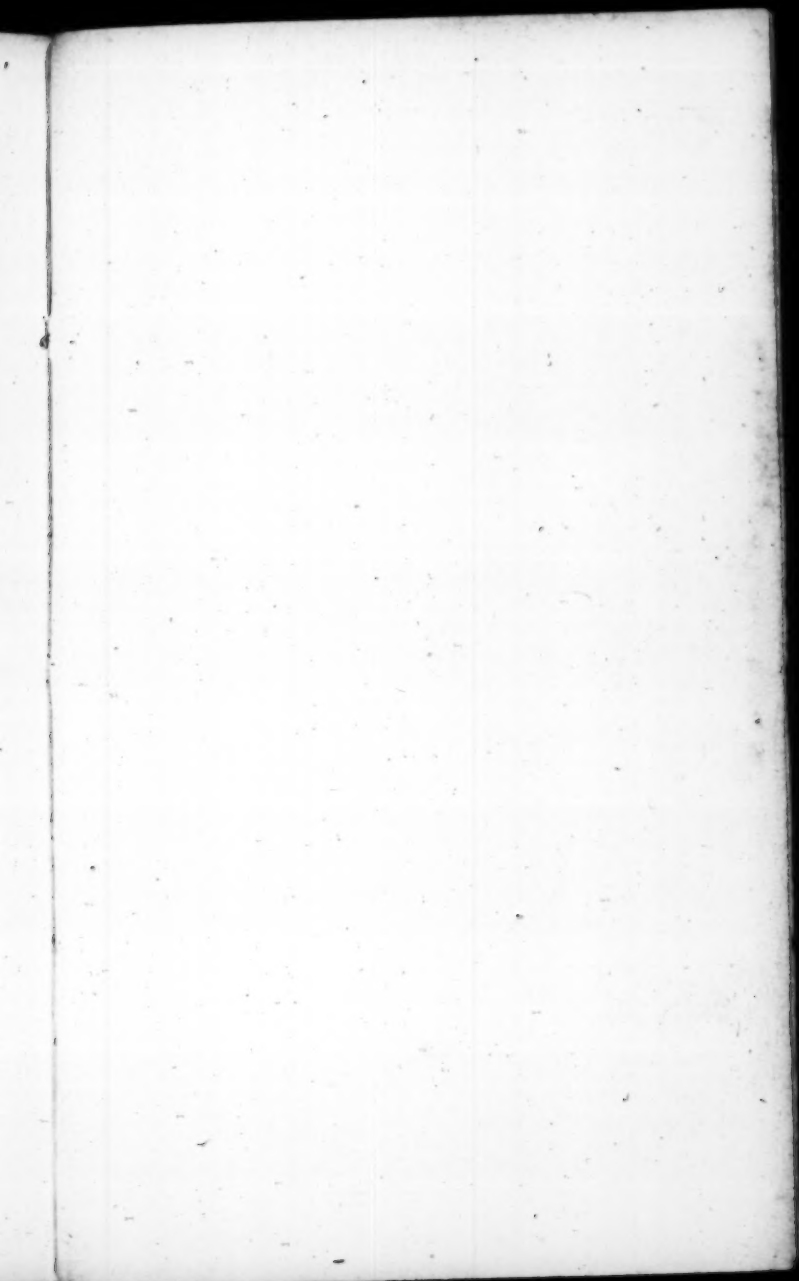
that Reason which renders not the Spirit tractable and submissive, is a false Reason. Faith that disputes the least is the most pure, and most true; and a simple Villager, who has submission and docility for things of Religion, is preferable to *Plato* and *Aristotle* in the judgement of God himself; if we may belive that avouchment so disadvantageous to great Spirits, and that so submissive Confession which the *Blessed JESUS* once made to his Father with so great a sense of Piety, and Joy, giving him thanks for having done so;

*Confiteor tibi Pater Domine Cali & Terra,  
quia abscondisti hæc à sapientibus, & revelasti ea  
parvulis, Math. cap. 11. v. 25.*

So true it is, that the thoughts of God are above the thoughts of man.

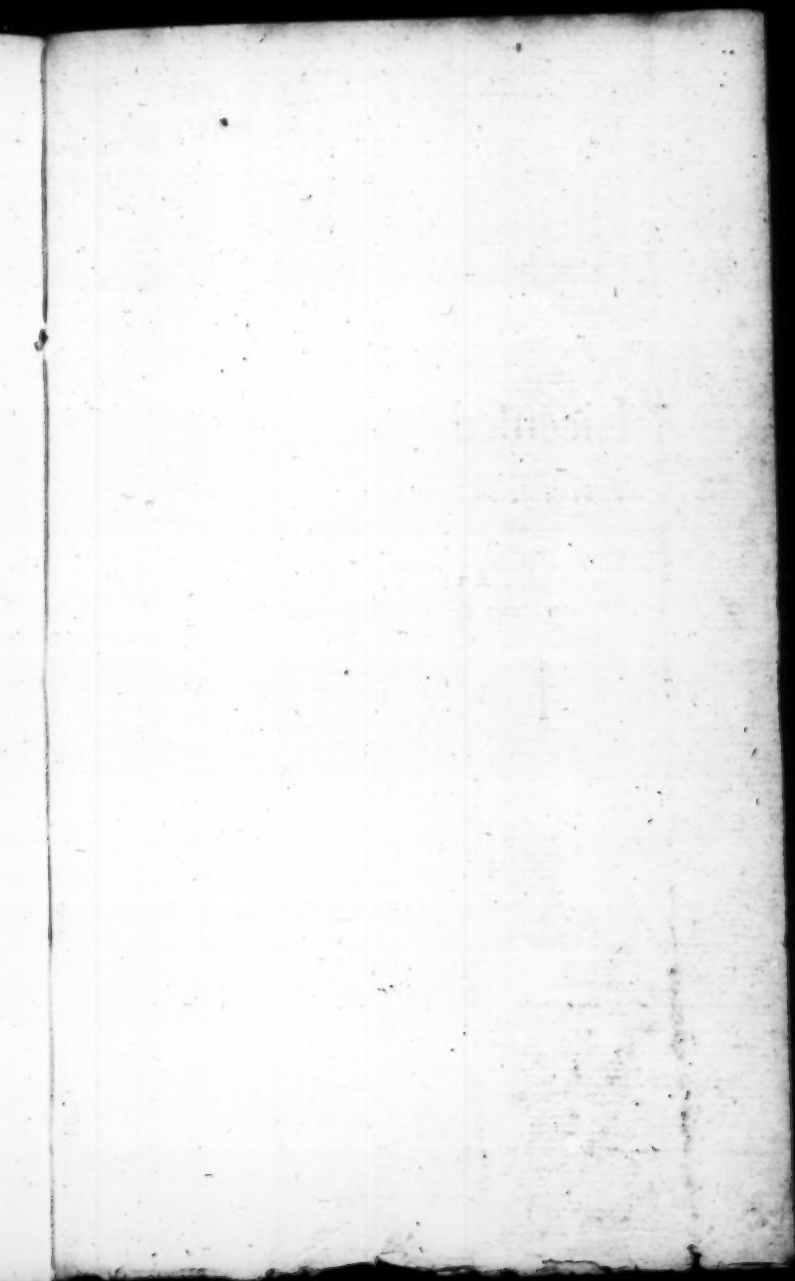
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FINIS.









Licensed,  
Sept. 17. 1672.

*Roger L' Estrange.*

Licensed,

Sept. 17. 1672.

*Roger L' Estrange.*

JUDGMENT  
ON  
Alexander  
AND  
Cæsar;

And also on  
*Seneca, Plutarch, and  
Petronius.*

---

Translated out of the *French.*

---

LONDON,

Printed by *A. Maxwell*, for *Jonathan  
Edwin* at the sign of the three Roses  
in *Ludgate-street.* 1672.

JUDGMENT

ON

Alexander

AND

Castor;

AND

James, Plaintiff, and  
Personne, Defendant.

Transacted out of the French.

LONDON,

Printed by A. Maxwell, for J. Smith,  
Edinburgh, at the Sign of the three Roses  
in Castle-Street, 1875.

# JUDGMENT

UPON

*Alexander and Cæsar.*

**T**IS a consent almost universal, That *Alexander* and *Cæsar* have been the greatest men of the world; and all those who have concerned themselves to judg of them, have believed, they obliged Conquerors that have come after them, by finding some resemblance between their Reputation, and their Glory. *Plutarch* after having examined their Nature, their Actions, their Fortune, leaves to us a liberty of deciding, which he durst not take. *Montaigne* more

bold, has declared himself for the first; and since the versions of *Vangelas* and of *D' Ablancour* have made these *Hero's* the Object of all our Converse. Every one has taken part with the one or the other, according to his inclination or his fancy. For my part, who have possibly examined their lives, with as much curiosity as any one, I will not give my self the authority to judg absolutely. But if you will dispense with me, to tell you what I think; you shall have some Observations I have made of the agreement and difference I find :

They both had the advantage of great birth: *Alexander* the Son of a considerable King: *Cesar* of one of the chief Families of that Republick, whose Citizens esteemed themselves more than Kings. It seems, the Gods were willing to declare the future greatness of *Alexander*, by *Olympia's* dream, and

Alexander and Cæsar. 7

and several other presages : his own haughty inclinations from his infancy, his jealous tears for the glory of his Father, and the judgment of *Philip*, who believed him worthy of a greater Kingdom than his own, seconded the advertisement of the Gods. Many things of this Nature have been no less remarkable in *Cæsar* : *Sylla* saw in him (young as he then was) many *Marius's*. He dream't that he lay with his Mother, which the *Augurs* interpreted, that the Earth, the Common Mother of all men, should be submitted to his power. He was known to weep, looking on the Statue of *Alexander*, that he had yet done nothing, in an age, wherein that Conqueror had made himself Master of the Universe.

The Love of Learning was a passion common to both : But *Alexander* every way ambitious, was touched with a jealousy of su-



periority in his studies; and his chief design for knowledg, was to be more knowing than others; witness his complaint, that *Aristotle* had published certain secrets, which should have been known to him alone; he declar'd, that he aspired to raise himself above other men, no less by Letters than Arms. Having a curious and passionate spirit, he pleased himself closely with hidden mysteries, and was particularly affected with Poetry.

There's none but have heard of the passions he had for *Homer*; and who is ignorant, that in favour of *Pindar*, the houses of his Descendants were saved in the ruin of *Thebes*, and general desolation of his Country.

The spirit of *Cesar*, somewhat less vast, reduced Sciences to his use; and he seem'd, not to have loved learning but for its benefits. In the Philosophy of *Epicurus*,  
which

Alexander and Cæsar. 9

which he preferred before all others, he principally applyed himself to what regarded man : but it appears, that Eloquence had his first endeavours, as knowing it necessary in the Commonwealth to arrive at the greatest things ; he pleaded in the *Rostra*, at the death of his Aunt *Julia*, with great applause ; he accused *Dolabella* ; and in the end made that excellent and delicate Oration for saving the lives of those Prisoners taken in *Catalines* Conspiracy.

There is left to us nothing that we can assuredly say was *Alexanders*, unless some divine sayings, of an excellent and admirable composure, which leave with us an impression equal to the greatness of his Soul, and the vivacity of his Spirit.

But the greatest difference I find in their Sentiments, is, in the matter of Religion. For *Alexander* was devout, even to Superstition,  
sus-

fering himself to be led away by Augurs and Oracles; which, besides his natural inclination, may be attributed to his ordinary reading the Poets, who begot in men a fear of the Gods, and did indeed compose all the Theology of those times.

As for *Cæsar*, whether it were his temperament, or his having followed the Opinions of *Epicurus*, he pass'd to the other extremity. He expected nothing of the Gods in this life, and took little care what might happen in the other. *Lucan* represents him at the siege of *Marseillia* in a sacred Wood, with an Axe in his hand, where giving the first blow, he muted the Soldiers, (seized with a secret horror of Religion), by words sufficiently impious. *Salust* makes him say, That death is the end of all Evils, and that beyond it, there is neither care nor thought of Joy.

But

Alexander and Caesar. 11

But men, how great soever they be, compared one with another are always feeble, defective, contrary to themselves, subject to error or ignorance. *Caesar* was troubled at a dream which presaged him the Empire, and laugh'd at that of his Wife, which advertised him of his death. His life did very well correspond with his faith, 'tis true, 'twas moderated indifferently as to voluptuousness, but yet he denied himself no pleasure that he affected, which gave occasion to *Catullus* to make so many Epigrams of him; and was in fine the cause of that saying, *That Caesar was the wife of all husbands, and the husband of all wives.*

In this case *Alexander* had great moderation, yet he was not insensible. *Barsinoe* and *Roxana* won his affection, nor had he so much continence, but that he made use  
of

of *Bagoas*, whom *Darius* had used before.

The pleasure of feasting, so dear to *Alexander*, and wherein he sometimes suffered himself to be carried to excess, was indifferent to *Cæsar*. Not but that in the time of labour and action, *Alexander* was sober, and free from delicacy; but in time of repose, ease was irksome to him, unless he gave life to it by something spritely.

They were, both the one and the other, liberal in giving, even to profuseness; but *Cæsar* with more design and interest; his largesses to the people, his excessive expences in his *Ædilship*, his presents to *Curio*, were rather corruptions than true liberalities. *Alexander* gave to do good, out of the pure greatness of his Soul. When he went into *Asia*, he distributed all his desmeans, dis-furnished himself of all things, reserving

reserving nothing but the hopes of conquest, or resolution to perish. When he beheld himself Master of the East, and had no more need of any person, he paid the debts of his whole Army. Painters, Engravers, Musicians, Poets, Philosophers, all indigent brave fellows had share in his Magnificence, and part in his Glory. Not that *Cæsar* was not likewise naturally very liberal, but in the design he had to raise himself, he was obliged to gain persons necessary; and scarce did he behold himself Master of the Empire, but it was unfortunately snatcht from him with his life.

I find not in *Cæsar* such friendships as *Alexander* had for *Ephestion*, nor such confidence as he had in *Cræternus*. His intercourses were either strengthenings of his affairs, or a procedure sufficiently obliging, but much less passionate

nate for his friends. 'Tis true, his familiarity had nothing dangerous in it, and those who communicated it, need not fear, either his anger or caprichio's. Whereas *Alexander* was extream, either he was most obliging, or most terrible; nor was any one secure with a secret wherein himself was engaged. Notwithstanding, his friendship was his greatest passion next his glory; of which we need no other testimony than his own, when he cried out to *Achilles* Statue. *O Achilles! How happy wert thou to have so faithful a friend in thy life, and a Poet like Homer after thy death.*

Hitherto we have sought these two great men in their Natural qualifications, 'tis time to examine the Genius of Conquerors, and to consider them in all the extents of action. It is a kind of folly to reason of things only imaginary, nevertheless according to all appearance,



pearance, If *Alexander* had been in the place of *Cæsar*, he had only employed his great and admirable qualities to his ruin. It may be believed, that his haughty humour ( enemy to precaution ) would have difficulty secured him in the persecutions of *Sylla* ; hardly could he have sought his safety by a voluntary withdrawing ; as what he gave was out of a pure motion of liberality, his largesses would have been pernicious to him, instead of attaining the *Ædilis*hip, wherein magnificencies and profuseness were permitted ; his gifts and presents out of season, would have made him suspected by the Senate ; and 'tis very possible, he could not have subjected himself to Laws, which would have pinnioned a Soul so imperious as his ; and so attempting something unseasonably, he had found the fate of the *Gracchi*, *Spurins*, *Manlius*, or *Cataline*,  
but



but if *Alexander* would have lost himself in the Republick, *Cæsar* whose Courage and Caution usually went hand in hand, had never conceived in his mind, that vast design of the Conquest of *Asia*.

It is to be believed, that *Cæsar*, whose conduct was so fine and close, that he was concerned in all the conspiracies, without being ever but once accused, and never convicted. Who in the divisions he stirr'd up amongst the *Gauls*, assisted one party to oppress the other, till he brought all under his Yoke. 'Tis to be believed, I say, that that very *Cæsar* following his own Genius, would have settled his own Estate, brought under his Neighbours, and divided all the Republick of *Greece*, till he had fully subjugated them. For certainly, to leave *Macedon* without hopes of return; to leave Neighbours about him ill affected,

*Greece*

*Greece* indeed as it were submitting, but scarce settled in a subjection, and with Five and thirty thousand men, Seventy Talents, few Provisions, to go to seek out the King of *Persia*, whom the *Græcians* called the great King, and whose single Lieutenants on the Frontiers made the whole world tremble ; is that which passes all imagination ; and seems somewhat more, than if in these days, the Republick of *Genova*, that of *Lucca*, or *Rogusa*, should undertake the Conquest of *France*. If *Cæsar* had declared war against the great King ; it had been on the Frontiers, by little and little, nor would he have thought himself unhappy to have bounded his Estates with the *Granick*, or if his Ambition had prest him farther, can you think he would have refused the offers of *Darius* ; he who daily offered peace to *Pompey*, or that he would not have

contented himself with his Daughter and five or six Provinces, which *Alexander*, 'tis possible, insolently refused? In short, if my conjectures be reasonable, he would never have gone into the plain Country, to have fought the King of *Persia*, accompanied with a Million of men; how brave, how constant soever he were, I question, whether he would have slept so profoundly, that night which preceded the battle of *Arbella*. I believe indeed, he would have been of *Parmenio's* mind, nor should we have had from him any of the answers of *Alexander*; yet it was necessary to undertake this unequal fight to become Master of *Asia*; otherwise *Darius* had drawn on the War from Province to Province during life. 'Twas of force that he perish as soon as he arrived, or that a thousand different people should see him overcome with all his forces.

'Tis

'Tis true, that this immoderate desire of glory, and too vast Ambition, which permitted him no repose, rendered him sometimes so insupportable to the *Macedonians*, that they were all ready to forsake him. But 'twas in that Juncture he particularly made appear the greatness of that Courage which nothing could astonish. Go *ingrateful wretches*, (said he to 'um), go, and tell in your Country, that y<sup>e</sup> have left Alexander with his Friends, labouring for the glory of Greece, among people who will obey him better than you. There is nothing in all his life, which the Prince of———did more admire than this his fierce answer to the *Macedonians*, and this confidence in himself. Alexander (said he), forsaken by his own, amongst *Barbarians* scarcely conquered, conceives himself so worthy to command, that he does not believe they can refuse to obey him. To

be in *Europe* or in *Asia*, amongst *Greeks* or *Persians*, is indifferent to him; he doubts not to find Subjects, where he can find Men.

But what is said for *Cæsar's* advantage, is, That the *Macedonians* had to deal with Nations soft and effeminate; and that the Conquest of the *Gauls*, whose people were fierce and warlike, was much more difficult to the *Romans*. I will not trouble my self to examine the Courages of the one, or the other; but it is certain, that *Cæsar* found not among the *Gauls* any true Armies, there were whole entire Bodies of people, even to the women, children, and old men, who tumultuously armed themselves for the defence of their liberty; multitudes who fought without order or discipline; and to speak truth, if you except twice or thrice, *Cæsar* might say, *Veni, Vidi, Vici*, in all those occasions; which makes me believe, that if  
*Labiennus*

*Labiennus* had commanded those Legions, he had no less subjected those Provinces to the Republick; whereas *Parmenio*, according to the best appearance, would not at all have fought that great Battle, which decided the affairs of *Asia*. You will likewise find this particular remarkable: *Parmenio* stood in need of *Alexanders* assistance in this fight; whereas *Cæsar* had one day been lost without *Labiennus*, who, having routed all on his side, sent the tenth Legion to disengage him.

But be it for the greater peril of their Enterprizes, for the exposing their Persons in them, or for being the less fortunate in doing so. *Alexander* was a hundred times in manifest danger of his life, and received often very great wounds. *Cæsar* truly had his hazards, but more rare, nor do I find him dangerously wounded in all his wars. Nor can I perceive, that the peo-

ple of *Asia* were so soft and effeminate, they who were always formidable to *Europe*. In the greatest power of the Commonwealth were not the *Romans* unfortunate against the *Parthians*, which composed but a part of *Darius* his Empire? *Crassus* perished with his Legions in the time of *Cæsar*; and soon after, *Anthony* made a shameful and unhappy voyage. As for Conquests, none can be truly attributed to *Cæsar*, but that of the *Gauls*; for in the civil war he reduced the Commonwealth with the best part of its own forces; and the single Battle of *Pharsalia* made him Master of an hundred different people, which others had vanquished. *Vespasian* cannot be said to have conquered the Empire, because he was declared Emperor upon the defeat of *Vitellius*; so *Cæsar* profited himself by the Labours of all the *Romans*, the *Scipio's*, *Emilius's*, *Marcellus's*, *Mar-*  
*rius's*,

*rius's*, *Sylla*, and *Pompey*, his own enemies fought for him, and all that was done in six hundred years, was the fruit of one hours fight.

But that which seems to me more incomprehensible of *Alexander*, is, that in twelve or thirteen years, he conquered more Countries, than the greatest Estates have done in the whole extent of their continuance : a Traveller is at this day famous, who has cross'd but a part of those Nations he subdued ; and that nothing might want to his happiness, he peaceably enjoy'd his Empire, even to the point of being adored by those he had overcome. In which I lament the misfortune of *Cæsar*, who could not give a form to the Estate of *Rome*, according to his designs ; being assassinated by those he was about to subject.

There yet remains one consideration to make, concerning *Alex-*



ander, That all the Captains of the *Macedonians* were great Kings after his death, who were but mean men compared to him during his life. And certainly, I pardon him in some sort, if in a Country where it was a received belief, that the most part of the Gods had their Families on Earth, where *Hercules* was believed the Son of *Jupiter*, for having killed a Lyon, or knocked some thief o'th head, I pardon him, I say, if seconding the opinion of *Philip*, who believed his wife to have commerce with a God, if deceived by the Oracles, if finding himself so much above all other men, he has sometimes despised his true birth, and sought for his Original in the Heavens; possibly, he caused this belief to be spread among the *Barbarians*, to draw from them the greater veneration. Though whilst he gave himself out to the world for a kind of a God; sleep, pleasure

fures with women, and the blood that distilled from his wounds, made him know, that he was but a man.

After having spoken so much in favour of *Alexander*, I will say in one word with *Cicero*, that for the beauty of an universal Genius, *Caesar* was in all things the chief of all *Romans*, Orator, Historian, in affairs of the Commonwealth, and in Employs of War. In truth the enterprises of *Alexander* have something more astonishing, but his Conduct and Capacity appear not to have the same Equality. His War in *Spain* against *Petreius* and *Afranius*, is a thing which people of the utmost experience yet admire. The most memorable Sieges of the later times have been formed after the manner of that of *Alexia*, and we owe to *Caesar*, our Forts, our Lines, and our Counter-vallations, and generally, all that which secures Armies before places.

For

For the vigor of it, the Battle of *Munda* was more sharply contested than any of those of *Asia*, and *Cæsar* ran as great hazard in *Egypt*, as *Alexander* did in the Town of the *Mallians*.

They were no less different in their procedure than in action. When *Cæsar* had not Justice on his side, he sought for appearances, and never wanted pretexts. *Alexander* would give the world no reason but his Will, he followed in all things his Ambitious and his Humour, but *Cæsar* was guided by his interest or his reason.

There was scarce ever known a person of such evenness in his life, such moderation in his fortune and such clemency in injuries: those impetuosities which cost *Clitus* his life, those ill clear'd suspicions which caus'd the loss of *Philotas*, and which, to *Alexander's* shame, drew in train with it, as a necessary evil, the death of *Par-*  
*menio*,

*menio*, all these Eruptions were unknown to *Cæsar* : Who could not be reproached with any death but his own, for that he took not care enough of his proper preservation.

It must therefore be acknowledged, that, far from being subject to the disorders of passion, he was the most active man of the World, and the least moved : great and little things found him still in the same posture, without appearing to be heightened by one, nor lor'd by the other.

*Alexander* was not properly in his own nature, unless in extreams. If he were to run, it must be with Kings ; if he were to hunt, it must be Lyons ; 'twas an affliction to him, to make a Present that was not worthy of him. Never was he more resolute, never more gay, then when his troops seemed discouraged ; never so full of confidence as in their despair. In a word,

word, he began to enjoy himself at that point, where other men, whether for fear or some other weakness, use to give themselves over; but his Soul, too exalted, did difficultly comply with the common course of life; and little careful of its self, it was to be fear'd, might take its flight in the midst of pleasure and repose.

Here I cannot forbear to make reflexion upon those *Hero's* whose Empire & Rule has so much sweetness in it, that it is no difficulty to obey; we cannot have for them those secret repugnances, nor those inward promptings to liberty which perplex us under a forced obedience; all that is within us is made supple and easie; yet what comes from them is sometimes insupportable. When they are our Masters by right of power, and so far above us by Merit, they think to have, as it were, a double Empire, which exacts a double

ble subjection; and it is a troublesome condition, to depend on men so great, that they may lawfully despise us. However, since there is no reigning in desarts and solitudes, and that there is a necessity of their conversing with us; it should methinks be their interest, to accommodate themselves to our weakness; and we should reverence them like gods, if they they would be content to live with us like men.

But let us finish this discourse, which becomes toilsome to myself, and say, that by all practicable ways, *Cæsar* hath done the greatest things, and made himself chief of all the *Romans*.

*Alexander* was naturally above all men; and you may say, that he was born Master of the Universe, and that in all his Expeditions, he went less to fight with his enemies than to make himself known to his Subjects.

JUDG-

in his passion, and it is a trouble  
to him to be so long in coming  
to know that they may lawfully  
delight in it. However, these things  
are reigning in desires and still  
more, and that there is a great ill-  
will in their conceiving with us;  
it should neither be their inter-  
est nor reason, but their duty  
to be weak; and we should  
resist them like gods, if they  
would be content to live  
as we like men. But this is the  
will of God, that he should  
with his own will, allow to my  
will, and live that by all possible  
means, I may have done the  
best things, and make myself  
chief of all the world.  
Alexander was naturally above  
all men; and in his nature, there  
was born a desire of the greatest  
and far in all his actions, he  
was to be high with the world;  
therefore make himself known to  
his subjects.

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# JUDGMENT

O N

*Seneca, Plutarch, and  
Petronius.*

**I** Will begin with *Seneca*, and tell you, with an extremity of impudence, That I have a greater esteem for his Person than his Works. I honour the Master of *Nero*, the Lover of *Agrippina*, and that *Ambition* which pretended to the Empire ; but for the *Philosopher* and the *Writer*, I have a very slender value ; and am neither affected with his *Stile*, nor his conceptions. His *Latine* has nothing in it, like that of *Augustus*



*flus* his time, nothing that's easie, nothing that's natural; full of points, full of imaginations that breathe forth more of the heat of *Affrica* or *Spain*, than the flame of *Greece* or *Italy*. You will find there things cut in two, which have the air and method of sentences, but have neither the solidity, nor good sense, which thrust and press upon the mind, without gaining the judgment. The continued violence of his discourse does as it were affright me; and the Soul, instead of finding satisfaction and content, meets with nothing but melancholy and perplexity.

*Nero*, who though one of the wickedst Princes living, was a person of a great deal of wit; had ever about him, a sort of fine spruce delicate little Masters, who treated *Seneca* like a Pedant, and endeavoured to make a Fop of him. But I am not of the opinion of *Bervillus*, who thinks the false

*Enmol-*

*Eumolphus* in *Petronius* was the true *Seneca*. If *Petronius* would have given him an injurious Character, he would rather have personated him under a Pedant Philosopher, than an impertinent Poet; besides it is almost impossible to find any resemblance of humor in it. *Seneca* was the richest man of the Empire, yet always praised poverty: *Eumolphus* was a Poet very low, and almost in despair with his condition, continually complaining of the Ingratitude of the Age, and for his sole comfort applying, that *bonæ mentis soror est paupertas*. If *Seneca* had vices, he was precise to cover them under the cloak of Wisdom. *Eumolphus* boasted of his, and lived in the world like a Libertine.

I cannot therefore perceive on what *Bervillus* grounded his conjecture. But I am deceived, if all that *Petronius* speaks of his time,

33      *Judgment on Seneca,*  
of the corruption of Eloquence  
and of Poesy ; if *Controversiæ sen-*  
*tentiales vibrantibus Pictæ*, which  
troubled him so much ; if *vannus*  
*sententiarum strepitus*, at which  
he was astonished, hinted not at  
*Seneca*. If the *per ambages & deo-*  
*rum Ministeria*, &c. was not  
meant of *Lucans Pharsalia*. If the  
praises he gives to *Cicero*, *Virgil*,  
and *Horace*, were not designed to  
lessen both the Uncle and the Ne-  
phew. However it be, to return  
to my opinion of this Philosopher,  
I never could peruse his writings  
without finding an aversion to those  
principles wherewith he would in-  
spire his readers. If he endeavour to  
perswade Poverty ; I dye with a  
desire of Riches ; his Virtue makes  
me afraid ; and the least vicious,  
would abandon themselves to  
pleasures, on the description he  
makes of it. In short, he talks  
so much of death, and wearies  
me

me with such dismal *Idea's*, that I do all I can, not to profit by reading him. That which I find most praise-worthy in his works, are the Examples and Quotations wherewith he adorns them. For he living in a very delicate Court, and knowing a thousand fine stories of all times, has brought in very pleasant ones, sometimes of the *Greeks*, sometimes of *Cæsar*, of *Augustus*, of *Mecænas*. For after all this, he had abundance of wit, and an infinite knowledg, but his stile hath nothing in it agreeable to me, and his opinions are too crabbed; and 'tis ridiculous, that a man who enjoyed an excess of riches, and preserved himself with such mighty care, should preach nothing but *poverty* and *death*.

*Montaigne* has found out a great agreement between *Plutarch* and *Seneca*; both great Philosophers;

36      *Judgment on Seneca,*  
both Preachers of Wisdom and  
Virtue, both Masters of *Roman*  
Emperors; the one richer and  
greater in the world, the other  
more happy in the education of  
his Pupil. The opinions of *Plu-*  
*tarch* ( as says the same *Mon-*  
*taigne* ) are sweeter and better ac-  
commodated to society. Those  
of *Seneca*, according to his opi-  
nion, more strong and firm, but ac-  
cording to mine, more rugged and  
austere. *Plutarch* does sweetly  
insinuate Wisdom, and would  
make his Virtue familiar even in  
pleasures themselves. *Seneca* re-  
duces all pleasure under Wisdom,  
and makes only the Philosopher  
happy. *Plutarch*, of his own Na-  
ture virtuous, and first perswaded,  
easily perswades others. The Spi-  
rit of *Seneca* aims and animates it  
self towards Virtue, and as if  
it were a thing strange to him,  
'tis necessary he first surmount it.

As

As for *Plutarch's* stile, not having any knowledg of the *Greek*; I cannot give you any assured Judgment, or pass my Sentence concerning it; but I must needs say, that amongst his *Morals*, there is a great deal I cannot at all comprehend, whether it be by reason of the difference of things and manners in his time and ours, or that they are truly above my little capacity: the familiar *Demon* of *Socrates*, the Creation of the Soul, and the course of the Moon, may be admirable to those that understand them. I must confess, I cannot find out their excellencies; and if they be wonderful, 'tis a wonder beyond my reach. We may judg by the good words of the ancients which he hath left us, by those sayings left by him, and those gathered together with so much diligence, by the long discourses at table, how sensible he

38 *Judgment on Seneca,*

was of conversation, and yet there was either little delicacy in those days, or his palat was none of the most exquisite; he sustains grave and serious matters with a vast proportion of sense and reason, but on things depending purely on wit, there is nothing either ingenious or delicate.

To say truth, the lives of the Illustrious men, are *Plutarchs* Masterpiece, and in my judgment one of the finest Works of the world; you may there see those great persons exposed to view, and yet retired within themselves; you may see them in the purity of Nature, and in all the extents of Action; One may behold the constancy of *Brutus*, and his fierce answer to the evil Genius that spoke to him; one may perceive, that *mangre* himself, there yet remained some impression of that Fantasm which all the reasoning of *Cassius* could hardly

hardly efface ; a few days after you may see him ordering his Troops, and giving Battle, so happy on his side, and so unfortunate by the error of *Cassius* ; you may behold him re-attempting his fortune, losing the fight, reproaching virtue, and finding more succour in his despair, than from that ungrateful Mistress he had so long faithfully served.

There is a natural force in all his discourse, which equals the greatest action, and of him only it may properly be said, *Facta dictis exæquata sunt* ; yet he forgets not the mean nor common things, but with diligence examines the ordinary course of the life.

For his Comparisons, which *Montaigne* hath found so admirable, they appear indeed to me very polite ; but I think, he might have exceeded them, and pierced farther into the depths of their



Nature. There are windings and turnings in our Souls, which have escaped him ; he hath given judgment of man too much in the gross, and has not believed him so different as he is from himself, wicked, virtuous, just, unjust, merciful, cruel ; and where man seems to be-ly himself, he attributes it to stranger causes. In short, had he been to define *Cataline*, he had given him us, either Covetous or Prodigal ; that *alieni appetens, sui profusus*, was above his knowledge, and he could never have unravelled these contraries which *Salust* has so well separated, and which *Montaigne* himself much better understood.

To judg of the merit of *Petronius*, I would have perused what *Tacitus* says, and without lying, he must be one of the most honest men of the world, since he could oblige so severe an Historian, to renounce

renounce his Nature, and enlarge himself in the praises of a voluptuous person ; not but that so exquisite a voluptuousness contributed as much to the delicacy of the spirit, as to that of the taste. That *Erudito Luxu*, that *arbiter Elegantiarum*, is the character of an ingenious politeness, much different from the grosser conceptions of the vicious : Nor was he so given over to his pleasure, as to become incapable of affairs ; neither had the sweetness of his life made him an enemy to business. He retained the merit of a Governour in his Government of *Bythinia*, and the virtue of a Consul in his Consulate ; but instead of subjecting himself to his dignity, as do most part of men, fetching thence all their perplexity, or all their joys ; *Petronius*, with a spirit superior to his charges, reduced them to himself : and to explain my self better,

ter, according to *Montaigne*, he renounced not the Man in favour of the Magistrate.

For his death, after having well examined it, either I am deceived, or it was the most exemplary of all antiquity. In that of *Cato*, I find melancholy, and some anger; his despair of the affairs of the Commonwealth, the loss of his Liberty, the hate of *Cæsar*, were great assistants of his resolution; and I know not whether his natural fierceness, did not almost reach to fury, when he tore out his own bowels. *Socrates* indeed died like a wise man, and with indifference enough; however, he sought to assure himself of his condition in the other world; was continually reasoning with his friends in the prison; & to say all in a word, Death was to him a very considerable Object. *Petronius* only found a sweetness and unconcernment in his

his *Audiebat referentes nihil de immortalitate animæ, & Philosophorum placitis. Sed levia carmina & faciles versus.* He not only continued his ordinary functions, to give liberty to his slaves, to cause others to be punished, but suffered himself to be transported to any thing that might delight him; and his Soul, at the point of so troublesome a separation, was more affected with the sweetness and facility of Verse, than all the sayings of Philosophers. *Petronius* at his death only left an image of life; no action, no word, no circumstance betray'd any trouble of a dying man; of him may properly be said, that *dying is to cease to live*, and to him the *Vixit* of the *Romans* justly appertains.

1. The first thing I noticed

was the smell of the

ocean. It was so fresh

and so different from

anything I had ever

smelled before. It was

like a warm blanket

on a cold day. I

was so happy to be

there. I had heard

so much about it and

now I was finally

here. I was so

glad to be here.

I was so happy to

be here. I was so

glad to be here.

I was so happy to

be here. I was so

glad to be here.

I was so happy to

be here. I was so

glad to be here.

I was so happy to

be here. I was so

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O N

PETRONIUS.

I Am not of their opinion, who believe, that *Petronius* intended to reprove the vices of the times; or to compose a Satyr with the same design wherewith *Horace* writ his. I am deceived, or good manners were not so much obliged to him. 'Tis rather a delicate Courtier, who finds it ridiculous, that a Pedant should become the publick Censurer, and undertake to blame the corruption of the times. And to speak truth, if *Petronius* would have left us an ingenious moral of the description of Sensualists, he had endeavoured

red to give us some disgust, but 'tis in this, that vice appears with all the graces of the Author; 'tis in this, that he sets forth with more excellency the acuteness and politeness of his spirit.

Moreover, if he had a design to instruct us by a way more fine and intricate than that of Precept, we should at least see an example of divine or human justice upon some one of his Debauches: but so it happens, that the only good man, which he introduces, the poor *Lycas*, an honest faithfull Merchant, fearing the gods, perishes miserably in the tempest, in the midst of those Varlets which are preserved. *Encolpius* and *Giton* bind themselves to one another, that they may dye in the straiter embraces, and death dares not disturb their pleasure. The voluptuous *Triphena* saves her self in a skiff with all her baggage. *Enmol-*  
*phus*

*phus* was so little moved with the danger, that he had the leisure to make some Epigrams. *Lycas*, the pious *Lycas*, in vain invokes the gods for their assistance, and, to the shame of their providence, is the only innocent swallowed up among so many guilty. If we see sometimes *Encolpion* melancholy and grieved, his grief is not the effect of his repentance; he has murdered his Host, is a fugitive, there is no sort or manner of crime that he has not committed, yet thanks to a good Conscience, he lives without remorse; his tears, his sorrows proceed from a very different cause; he laments the unfaithfulness of *Giton*, who has forsaken him, and despairs to imagine he may be in the embraces of another, who laughs at the solitude to which he is reduced.

*Jacent*



*Jacent nunc amatores Obligati  
noctibus totis ; & forsitan,  
mutuis libidinibus attriti de-  
rident solitudinem meam.*

All crimes ever succeeded happily to him, only one, which in truth brought upon him a very severe punishment ; yet this was a sin to which, neither divine nor human Laws had allotted any chastisement ; he had too faintly answered the caresses of *Carce* ; and the plain truth is, this fumbling is the only fault that ever afflicted him ; he acknowledges he has many times err'd, but never deserved death but in this occasion. In fine, not to tye my self to the order of the History, he relapses again into the same crime, and receives the deserved punishment with a perfect resignation ; 'tis now that he begins to consider with himself,  
and

and feels the Anger of the gods.

*Hellespontiaci sequitur gravis Ira  
Priapi.*

He laments the sad and miserable estate into which he is fallen :

*Funerata est pars illa corporis,  
qua quondam Achilles eram.*

And to recover his former vigor, he puts himself into the hands of a Priestess of that Gods, with most excellent reflections on Religion, but in effect, the only ones that ever proceeded from him in all his adventures.

I cou'd tell you likewise, that the good man *Eumolphus* is —— by little boys, when he recites his Verses; but when he corrupts his Scholar, the Mother treats him as a Philosopher, and though they lye in the same Chamber, the Father

ther sleeps dogs-sleep. So much is the buffoon severely punished in *Petronius*, and vice happily protected. Judg by this, if virtue had not need of another Orator to perswade it. I believe, he was of the opinion of——

*That an honest man and good manners agree not together.*

*Si ergo Petronium adimus, adimus virum ingenio vero anlico Elegantiæ arbitrum, non Sapientiæ.*

## CHAP. II.

**I**T's not to be doubted, that *Petronius* designs, to describe the debauches of *Nero*; and that that Prince was the principal object of his *Satyricon*. But to know, if the persons which he introduces are true or feigned, if he give us Characters according to his own fancy, or else describes the proper Nature of certain people; is a thing very hard, and which in reason we cannot assure our selves of. I believe for my part, that there is no one person in *Petronius*, that can generally agree with *Nero*. Under *Trimalchio*, he apparently derides his ridiculous Magnificence, and the extravagancy of his Pleasures. *En-molphus* represents to us the fool-

ish passion he had for the *Theater*.

*Sub nominibus exoletorum, fœminarumque & novitate cujusque stupri; Flagitia Principis perscripserit.*

And by an agreeable disposition of different imagined persons he touches divers impertinencies of the Emperors, and the ordinary disorder of his life.

It may be said, that *Petronius* is very contrary to himself, to blame the sumptuousness of a Feast, and the delicacy and softness of other pleasures; he that was so diligent and ingenious an Inquisitor after voluptuousness!

*Dum nihil amœnum & molle affluentia putat, nisi quod ei Petronius approbavisset.*

For

For to speak truth, though that Prince was in his own nature sufficiently corrupt, yet according to *Plutarch's* judgment, the complaisance of this Courtier contributed very much to throw him into all manner of Luxury and Profuseness. In this, as well as in most things of History, we must regard the difference of times.

Before that *Nero* gave himself over to this strange kind of looseness, there was no person in the world, so agreeable to him as *Petronius*; insomuch, that every thing passed for gross and dull that had not his approbation. This Court was like a School of pleasure, or Inquisition of voluptuousness; where every thing was fitted to the delicacy of so exquisite a palat. I believe likewise, that the

politeness of our Author, became pernicious to the publick, and that he was one of the principal causes of the ruin of several considerable persons, who made a particular profession of Wisdom and Virtue. He was continually preaching Liberality to that Emperor who was already a Prodigal ; softness, to one given over to sensuality ; what ever had but an appearance of Austerity, seem'd to him fond and ridiculous. If my conjectures be right, *Traseas* had his turn, *Helvidius* his, and whoever had merit without the art to please, was troublesome at his own cost.

In this sort of life, *Nero* grew every day more and more corrupt ; and as the delicacy of the pleasure began to yeild to the disorder of the debauch, he fell into extravagancies beyond  
all

all bounds, and into an utter disorder of mind. 'Twas then that *Tigellinus*, jealous of the parts and favour of *Petronius*, and those advantages he had over him in the skill of contriving pleasures, endeavoured to ruin him, *Quasi adversus emulam & Scientia voluptatem potiore*. Nor was it any difficult matter for him to do; for the Emperor, absolutely given over as he was, could not suffer so curious a witness of his infamies; he was less tormented with remorse for his Crimes, than with a secret shame, which his gross debauches threw upon him, when he remembered the sweetness and delicacy of his former delights. *Petronius* on his side, was not without his disgusts; and I am of the mind, that in the time of those concealed discontents, he composed that ingenious *Satyricon*,  
D 4                      which



which we unhappily have but imperfect.

We may see in *Tacitus*, the occasion of his disgrace, and how soon after *Piso's* Conspiracy, the Friendship of *Scevinus*, was the pretence of his fall.

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. III.

**P***etronius* is through his whole writings to be admired for the purity of his style, and the excellency of his conception; but that which most of all surprizes me, is the great facility wherewith he does ingeniously give us all sorts of Characters. *Terence* is possibly the Author of *Antiquity*, which dives best into the nature of persons. Yet I can find this to say against him, that he is too much confin'd, and all his talent is bounded, in putting fit words into the mouths of servants, and old men, a covetous father, a debauched son, a slave, or a kind of Pick-pocket, behold at once the utmost extent of *Terence* his capacity : expect  
not

not from him, either the gallantry, or passion, or conceptions, or discourse of an honest man.

*Petronius*, with an universal spirit, finds the genius of all sorts of professions, and forms, as he pleases, a thousand different natures; if he introduces a Declamer, he manages so well his air and his stile, that you would say he had Declamed all his life. Nothing in the world can better express the disorders of a debauched life, than the quarrels of *Encolpius* and *Acyltor*, about the matter of *Giton*.

Does not *Quartilla* represent admirably those prostituted women?

*Quarum sic accensa libido, ut sepius peterent viros. quam peterentur?*

Does

Does not the marriage of little *Giton* and the innocent *Pannichris* give us the perfect image of an accomplished unchastity.

All that a Fop could do ridiculously, at a magnificent Banquet, a counterfeit gallant, and an impertinent; you have represented to the life, at the feast of *Trimalchio*.

*Eumolpus* shews us *Nero's* folly on the Theater, and his vanity, to recite his own works; and you may observe, in passing over so many curious verses, of which he makes a debauched use, that an excellent Poet is ordinarily no very honest man. And by the by, as *Encolpion* representing *Eumolpus*, for a Poet dogril, and maker of fantastick verses; yet forbears not to find in his Physiognomy, something  
of

of Great ; you may perceive, he observes judiciously not to ruin those Idea's he had given us.

That distemper he has , to compose out of due season, even *in vicinia mortis* , his volubility to tell his compositions in all places , answer to his ridiculous aim :

*Et ego, inquit, Poeta sum, & ut spero non humillimi spiritus, si modo aliquid Coronis credendum est, quas etiam ad imperitos graves deferre solet.*

His knowledg general enough, his extraordinary actions, his expedients in misfortunes, his constancy to help his companions in *Lycas* his ship ; that pleasant Court of searchers for successions, which he brings together in *Crotona* , have still an accord with those things

things which *Encolpius* had promised :

*Senex Canus Exercitati vultus, & qui videbatur magnum aliquid promittere.*

There is nothing so natural, as the personating of *Crisis* ; all our Confidants come not neer it ; and without speaking of her first conversation with *Polienos*, that which she says of her Mistrels, upon the affront which she had received, with an inimitable quickness and propriety :

*Verum enim fatendum est, ex qua hora accipit injuriam, apud se non est.*

Whoever has read *Juvenal*, knows very well, *impotentiam Matronarum*, and their wicked humour, *Si quando vir aut familiaris*

*liaris infelicius cum ipsis rem habuerat*, but there is no body but *Petronius* could describe *Circe* so fair, so sensual, and so gallant.

*Enothea*, the Priestess of *Priapus*, ravishes me with the Miracles which she promises, with her Enchantments, her Sacrifices, her mourning for the death of the sacred Goose, and the manner how she was comforted ; when *Polienos* made her a present, with which she might buy a Goose, and gods too, it she thought fit.

*Philumena*, that honest Lady, is no less pleasant, who when she had devoured many Estates in the flower of her youth and beauty, being become old and consequently useless for pleasure, endeavoured to continue her excellent art by the means of her Children, which with a thousand  
fine

fine discourses she introduces to old folks which had none. In short, there is neither nature nor profession, the genius of which *Petronius* does not admirably follow ; he is a Poet, an Orator, a Philosopher when he pleases.

For his verses, I find in them a pleasing force, and a natural beauty. *Naturali pulchritudine carmen exsurgit.* So that *Douza* could no longer endure the fire and tempest of *Lucan*, when he read the taking of *Troy*, or that little Essay of the War of *Pharsalia*, which he declares to love much better,

*Quam trecenta Cordubensis illius  
Pharsalicorum versuum Volumina.*

I know not whether I am deceived, but in my mind, *Lucretius* hath not so aptly discoursed  
the



the matrer of dreams, as *Petronius*.

*Somina, quæ mentis ludunt volitan-*  
*tibus umbris,*  
*Non delubra Deum, nec ab æthere*  
*numina mittunt,*  
*Sed sibi quisque facit; nam cum*  
*prostrata sopore,*  
*Urget membra quies, & mens sine*  
*pondere ludit;*  
*Quicquid Luce fuit, Tenebris agit*  
*oppida bello*  
*Qui Quatit & flammis miseran-*  
*das sævit in urbes;*  
*Tela videt: &c.*

And what can one compare to that voluptuous night, the representation of which so fills the Soul, that there is need of more than a little virtue, to contain within those simple expressions it makes upon the spirit.

*Qualis*

*Qualis nox fuit illa! Dii, Deae-  
 que,  
 Quam mollis Thorus! Hæsimus Ca-  
 lentes,  
 Et transfudimus hinc & hinc la-  
 bellis,  
 Errantes animas. Valetæ curæ!  
 Mortalis ego sic perire cæpi:*

What a night, O good gods!  
 What warmth! What kisses!  
 What breathings! What mix-  
 ture of Souls in those hot and a-  
 morous respirations!

Though the style of a Declamer  
 seems ridiculous to *Petronius*, yet  
 he forbears not to shew a great  
 deal of Eloquence in his Decla-  
 mations; and to make it appear,  
 that the most debauched are not  
 incapable of meditation and re-  
 turn; Morality has nothing more  
 serious, nor better applied than  
 the reflections of *Encolpius* on the

E

incon-

inconstancy of human things, and the uncertainty of death.

What ever subject presents it self, it is impossible either to think more delicately concerning it, or to express it more lively. Oftentimes in his Narrations, he proceeds no farther than the simple nature, and contents himself with the naked graces, sometimes he puts his last hand to the work, and when he pleases, there's nothing dishonest, nothing hard. *Catullus* and *Martial* treated on the same things grossly, but if any one could find out the secret to clothe smutty things in language like his, I will answer for the Ladies, that they would praise his discretion.

But that which *Petronius* is more particular in, is, that besides *Horace* in some Odes, he is possi-

possibly the only person of antiquity, that has known how to speak of Gallantry. *Virgil* is touching in the passions; the loves of *Dido*, the loves of *Orpheus*, and *Euclidice*, have charm and tenderness, but there is nothing gallant; and the poor *Dido*, such a charitable good Soul she was, became amorous of *Aeneas* upon the recital of his misfortunes. *Ovid* is witty and easie. *Tibullus* delicate. Yet it behoved all their Mistresses to be more learned than my Lady——whilst they bring in the gods, fables, examples drawn from the farthest antiquity. They are still promising Sacrifices, and I believe Mr.—— took from them the manner of burning hearts in Holocaust. *Lucian*, as ingenious as he was, becomes dull when he talks of love, and makes his Gallants discourse rather in the language

of the Country than Court.

For my part, though I am a great admirer of the Ancients, I cannot forbear to render justice to our own Nation, and do certainly believe, that we have over them a great advantage in this point; and without lying, after having well examined the matter, I know none of those great Genius's, that could make *Massinissa*, *Sophonisba*, *Cesar*, and *Cleopatra*, speak so gallantly of love as we have heard them speak in our language; but as much as others yeild to us, *Petronius* exceeds us. There is no *Roman* can furnish us with so agreeable a story as the Matron of *Ephesus*. Nothing so gallant as the love-Epistles of *Circe* and *Polienos*; and all their adventure, whether in the entertainments, or in the description, has a Character much above

above all the politeness of our age. Judg then, how delicately he would have treated a just passion, when this was only the business of two persons, who at first sight were to come to the last enjoyments.

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The Matron of *Ephesus*, according to *Petronius*.

There was a certain Lady at *Ephesus*, in so great reputation for Chastity, that even the women of neighbouring Nations came to see her as a wonder; this excellent woman, when her husband was to be carried to sepulture, was not content; according to custom, to attend his corps, with dishevelled hair, and to beat her naked breast in the sight of the people, but would follow his beloved body to its monument, and when it was after the Greek manner placed



ced in the Sepulcher, would become a Guard to it ; and began whole nights and days to weep over it : from thus afflicting herself, and seeking her own death, neither her friends nor neighbours could withdraw her ; the Magistrates at last, finding both their power and prayers repulsed, left her ; and every one deplored this woman of so singular an Example, who had now past the fifth day without sustenance. There accompanied her a faithful Handmaid, who with her tears assisted her mourning, and as often as the light placed in the Monument began to fail renewed it. She now was grown the talk of the whole Town ; and all sorts of people confessed her to be the only rare exemplar of true Love and Chastity. When it hapned, that the Governour of the Country having caused certain Thieves to be  
be

he crucified neer the place where this Lady thus consumed her self over the body of her dead Husband; the next night after, a Soldier who had the guard of the Crosses, lest any should give the bodies burial, took notice of a light within the Monument, and heard certain mournful voices; and Curiosity, that vice of Mankind, made him desirous to know who or what it was; going therefore into the Monument, he espied a wonderful fair Lady, and stood astonished, and took it at first for an Apparition; but when he beheld the dead body, and considered the tears, and saw the lacerated countenance, he soon conceived what it might be, and that the dead object had made the other careless of living; he then brought his Supper into the Monument, and began to exhort the dying Lady, not to afflict her self  
with

with so vain a mourning, and with a grief that could bring no benefit, that we must all dye, and all go to the same home, and many such like things wherewith we use to reduce minds overcharged with sorrow; but she obstinate to all consolation, rent more violently her breasts, and tearing off her hair, strowed it on the bosom of her dead Husband. Yet would not the Soldier be so repulsed, but with fresh exhortations, began to perswade her to eat; till the Maid corrupted with the scent of the Wine, first reach'd out her vanquish'd hand to the humanity of the Inviter; and being enlivened with meat and drink, began to combat her Ladies obstinacy; and what will it profit you, said she, thus to consume your self? why will you bury your self alive? or why will you render you spirit to the Fates before they ask it?

*Think*

*Think you the gods do for our ashes  
care?*

Will all your mournings give light to what the Fates have extinguished? why will you not rather renounce this womanly error, and enjoy life while you may? that very dead body lying there, should admonish you, to live. There's none do unwillingly give ear, when they are compelled either to eat or live. The Lady wearied with several days abstinence, permits her resolution to be broken, and with the same desire which before had vanquished her Maid, falls to, and eats; you might guess the rest, who know the effects of human satiety. With the same allurements wherewith the Soldier had perswaded the Matron to live, with the same he assaults her Chastity. The young  
man

man appeared to her neither deformed, nor of unpleasant discourse; and the Maid was assistant with her counsel:

*Will you (said she) a pleasing love  
disdain?*

*Think how you are restor'd to life  
again.*

Why should I prolong my story? Neither in this case could the woman preserve her vow'd abstinence; the Soldier becomes Victor both ways: they therefore lay together, not only that night in which they made their close and sudden Nuptials, but likewise the following, and the third day; shutting up the entrance of the Tomb, that both known, or unknown, which passed that way, believed this Mirror of Chastity to be expired on the body of her dead Husband. The  
Soldier

Soldier in the mean time, delighted as well with the womans excellent beauty, as the secret of the adventure, bought all necessaries, as far as his slender means would go, and every night brought them to the Monument. But whilst he thus enjoyed his love, some of the friends of one of the crucified persons, perceiving the guard neglected, took down the body and pay'd it the last Rites; which when the Soldier the next day found himself thus rob'd off, and beheld one of the Crosses without a body, he runs to his woman, bitterly complaining, and tells her, the like punishment was to be inflicted upon him; nor would he stay the Judges sentence, but with his own Sword do justice upon himself for his neglect. So that now she was like to behold in the same fatal Sepulcher, the dead bodies of her Husband and  
her

her Gallant ; but the woman was as merciful as she was chaste. The gods forbid, said she, that I should at once behold the Funerals of two men whom I held so dear ; I had rather hang up the dead than kill the living ; and accordingly she bids him take the body of her dead Husband out of the Coffin, and hang it on the Cross that wanted one, the Souldier steads himself of the ingenuity of this prudent woman ; and the next day, all the Town admired, how a dead body could creep to the Cross.

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